



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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29 April 1992

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'Ad Hoc OAU Meeting' Held in Tanzania

MB2804124192 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Report from Arusha, Tanzania, by Daude Amade]

[Text] Ten heads of state from Tanzania, Nigeria, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Namibia, Botswana, and Ethiopia; the president of the African National Congress, ANC; representatives of South Africa's Pan-Africanist Congress, PAC; and officials representing Angola, Algeria, and Congo have been attending an ad hoc OAU meeting on southern Africa in Arusha, Tanzania, since this morning.

That OAU meeting is basically discussing the latest developments in South Africa concerning the elimination of the apartheid system and the establishment of a majority government.

Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, who is also OAU chairman, have said that the Mozambican peace process and drought in southern Africa will be discussed during this OAU meeting. In their speeches, both heads of state described the Mozambican peace process as an OAU priority resolution issue.

Regarding South Africa, Babangida suggested that certain conditions have been met toward lifting sanctions. Ali Hassan Mwinyi defended, however, that the entire apartheid system must be scrapped first. Babangida said that South African President Frederick de Klerk had told him earlier this month that the majority of white South Africans supports reform, and change. Citing Mozambique, Angola, Somalia, and Sudan as examples, he defended the idea that all should come together to draw up a strategy to reduce conflicts in Africa.

A news conference is scheduled for this afternoon to announce this one-day summit's decisions.

ANC's Mandela Addresses OAU

MB2804113692 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0923 GMT 28 Apr 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress, ANC: "Address by ANC President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela to the OAU Ad Hoc Committee for Southern Africa, Arusha, 28 April, 1992"]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Mr President, the honourable heads of state, your excellencies, honourable ministers:

Allow me to express my great appreciation to you for affording me the opportunity to speak to you today, particularly as this meeting takes place in Arusha, close to the legendary Kilimanjaro mountain.

Events in South Africa have moved with tremendous speed since this Ad Hoc Committee of the OAU adopted what became known as the Harare Declaration in August

1989. This historic declaration has played no small part in the developments since then. Most of the preconditions it spelt out have been partially met or are in the process of being resolved. However, the particularly thorny issue of political prisoners remains a burning issue, with hundreds still in jail. Moreover, new problems have arisen, particularly what is termed "violence", for us to grapple with. I will deal with the violence in some detail later.

We would like to briefly sketch the path we have travelled, and to dwell in some detail on where the process is at now, what the main obstacles are and share with you the ANC's [African National Congress] perspectives of the way forward.

The South African regime initially rejected out of hand our calls for an all party congress, an interim government of national unity to oversee free and fair elections for a constituent assembly. Both these demands were the crux of mass campaigns and extensive public debate, resulting in general acceptance by many political organisations, including the Patriotic Front conference held in October 1991.

The declaration adopted at the Patriotic Front conference stated that:

"The all party congress/pre-constituent assembly meeting shall:

- Underwrite the constitutional principles
- Find the modalities for drawing up the constitution through an elected constituent assembly
- Realise the establishment of an interim government or transitional authority
- Ensure the reincorporation of the bantustans
- Define a role for the international community, and
- Agree upon a time frame to bring about a democratic order in South Africa".

It was also agreed that a meeting should be held within a matter of weeks with the regime and other interested parties and organisations to discuss the date, venue and an independent convenor for such a congress. And indeed, on 29 and 30 November 1991, such a preparatory meeting was held, attended by 20 political formations including the South African Government and the various bantustan administrations.

The result was the historic Convention for a Democratic South Africa—Codesa—which had the following agenda:

1. The creation of a climate for free political activity
2. General constitutional principles
3. The constitution-making body
4. Interim government/transitional arrangements
5. The future of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei [TBVC] bantustans
6. The role of the international community
7. Time frames for the whole process

The agreed agenda, and the reluctant acceptance by the regime that the OAU and four other international organisations be observers at the first and all subsequent plenary sessions of Codesa was a victory for the democratic forces.

The first plenary session of Codesa, held on 20 and 21 December 1991, established five working groups to work out the details of agreements on the above agenda items. These working groups began functioning on 6 February, and have been in session regularly since then.

Now, with a little more than two weeks before Codesa II is scheduled to meet, where are we?

The present negotiations in South Africa are about the transfer of power from the white minority to the people as a whole. The end result of negotiations must, of necessity, result in the destruction of the white monopoly of political power in South Africa. Advances have been made, despite the oft-repeated statements made by De Klerk and other National Party negotiators that they will not negotiate themselves out of power.

We would like to look at the advances in some detail.

Agreement has been reached among all parties that an interim government of national unity needs to be established in order to oversee the transition. We consider this a major breakthrough.

Furthermore, agreement has been reached on a two-phased approach to interim government arrangements. The first phase would be implemented as soon as details can be agreed upon. This phase would involve the establishment of multi-party structures to co-exist with present government structures, assuming responsibility for specific areas, namely local government, the security forces, international relations and the budget. In addition, non-partisan committees would be established to deal with two areas critical to free and fair elections: an independent electoral commission to oversee the elections, and a media commission charged with the task of establishing an interim independent communications authority with the specific task of ensuring free and fair reportage and access to the media.

The primary task of phase one of the interim government is to ensure that free and fair elections are conducted. Thus these interim structures would exist only until the first democratic elections are held. We see this pre-election phase lasting no longer than six to nine months.

In this phase the international community would have a vital role to play to ensure free and fair elections. This role should, at the minimum, be able to independently verify the outcome of the election. It may also be necessary to call on the international community for assistance in relation to the security forces.

The second phase of the interim government would come into being after democratic elections for a constitution-making body. The regime held the view that a forum like Codesa should draft the new South African

constitution. By contrast, the ANC insists that a democratically elected constituent assembly should draft and adopt the new constitution, as was the case in Namibia.

While we have to reach agreement separately on each of the phases, agreement on and implementation of all steps must be seen as one whole package, each aspect unable to stand on its own. The regime would like to engage the ANC on aspects of the interim government, and prolong that process indefinitely. But for the ANC the interim government is only a transitional mechanism to take us forward to democratic elections for a constitution making body.

Through negotiations the regime has been forced to concede that the constitution-making body be elected on the basis of one person one vote through proportional representation.

However, deep differences still exist on matters of detail regarding the constitution-making body. These revolve around two key problem areas:

1. The regime hopes to construct the constitution-making body in such a manner that the National Party would have veto powers over its decisions, regardless of the outcome of the elections.
2. The regime opposes the participation of those South Africans who live in so-called independent bantustans, insisting that they are foreigners living in independent countries. This excludes approximately ten million South Africans.

The ANC position is that the composition of the interim government would take into account the support parties receive in elections. And unlike in phase one, the interim government would be comprehensive, taking over all governmental functions at an executive level. The elected constitution-making body would also act as the interim parliament.

Underpinning all of the above are the general constitutional principles all participants at Codesa are hammering out. There is agreement by all the parties on a range of issues, but the ANC is less than pleased with the progress being made. The main obstacle remains the regime's intransigence and refusal to accept meaningful power sharing during the transitional period and a democratic system as universally understood.

The National Party and De Klerk mouth acceptance of one-person, one-vote, but then propose a constitutional dispensation that makes provisions to ignore the verdict of the electorate. The latest charade was De Klerk's proposal on 23 April that elections be held for an executive council. This council would be composed of three to five leaders directly elected, who would rotate the presidency every three months. The executive council would carry out the functions of both head of state and head of government, and would take decisions by consensus. The scheme, rejected by virtually everyone

barring the National Party, is designed to prevent genuine majority rule. It is in line with the regime's proposals for a veto power over the elected parliament.

What do we expect of Codesa II, scheduled for 15 May, 1992? We would consider there has been substantive progress if agreement has been reached on the constitution-making body.

This must include:

- Recognition that it be an elected body based on one person, one vote;
- That its tasks include drafting and adopting a democratic constitution;
- That it will be a single chamber body and that its decisions will not be subject to any veto or overriding powers by any other structure.

Furthermore, the conditions under which the elections take place must be such that no single political player serves as referee. The holding of elections must be removed from the hands of the present regime and all parties must be satisfied that the elections will be free and fair.

This means that there must be substantive agreement to create a climate of free political activity. This includes:

- The removal of all legislation circumscribing and impeding free political activity;
- Agreements confining the activities of the security forces in such a way that they cannot intervene or interfere with the right to free political activity and in the electoral process;
- Agreements ensuring a moratorium by government on any unilateral restructuring at the socio-economic, political, security force and foreign policy levels; and
- Independent controls over state media to ensure impartial and fair coverage.

We also consider agreement on the second phase of interim arrangements as outlined earlier to be critical. This must perforce include the restoration of citizenship to all those who have been deprived of it as a result of the regime's bantustan policies, and their right to participate freely and fully in elections for a constitution making body.

We have detailed our expectations of Codesa II because we have grave misgivings arising from the National Party's intransigent behaviour since the all-white referendum of 17 March, 1992. It is our considered view, and recent developments within the National Party lend further weight to our perceptions, that the regime is stalling the negotiations. It appears that De Klerk feels confident that he does not need to respect democratic elections, and is determined to cling on to power by any means necessary.

And this brings us to the major problem confronting the oppressed people of South Africa—violence.

The situation in South Africa is increasingly comparable with that of Nazi Germany, where people were killed only because they were Jews. In today's "apartheid-free"

South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are black. White indifference is appalling: the death and destruction, the refugees, homelessness and scale of the terror, could be happening halfway across the world, not just a few kilometres away, across the great chasm that separates black and white in South Africa.

Pretoria's propaganda machine has effectively put across the image that this violence is a result of a political power struggle between various black organisations. When the ANC first spoke of a "third force", it was laughed out of court. Yet today, with over 13,000 lives lost, this "third force" concept has been recognised by most commentators and organisations within South Africa.

There are clear patterns that emerge within the violence. It mirrors political developments almost exactly. Media reports talk of ethnic antagonisms, or black-on-black violence, portraying a racial stereotype as the cause of violence. The different types of violence, be they attacks on train or taxi commuters, on mourners at vigils, attacks involving hostel dwellers, squatter communities, are taking a heavy toll with hundreds of people murdered every month.

The partiality of the police, the lack of arrest or conviction, confirm mounting evidence that the violence erupts at points which most weaken the ANC.

The international commission of jurists, after concluding a visit at the end of March 1992, stated that free and fair elections are not possible until the violence is brought under control. They expressed astonishment at the lack of action by the police, and identified the kwaZulu police as a private army which participated openly in joint attacks with Inkatha on people in their homes.

In terms of identifying the "third force" what has become known as the Trust Feed massacre, which occurred in 1988, is instructive. The South African SUNDAY TIMES, not known for its support for the ANC, had this to say in an editorial on 26 April, 1992:

"In any catalogue of the horrors of this violent century the massacre of 11 people by the police at Trust Feed (Natal) must now rank among the most notorious atrocities of our time, like the Nazi massacre of Jews at Babi Yar, or the slaughter of civilians by American troops at My Lai. In a terrifying judgement Mr Justice Wilson found not only that the massacre was carried out by the police, but that it was the final event in a security force operation to achieve a political purpose, and that it was followed by a cover-up reaching into the top echelons of the South African Police.

"The slaughter, carried out on innocents, including women and children, as they sat in mourning at the side of a dead relative, was intended, the court found, to disrupt the community, to displace a residents' association and to put Inkatha in control of the region. This aim was achieved by blaming the residents' association for

the massacre, thus creating something in the nature of a blood feud which made it impossible for members of the association or their supporters to enter the region.

"In short, the Trust Feed case has proved true, at least in this instance, the frequent accusations that the police acted, in pursuance of policy, as a "third force" to stimulate violent conflict between the ANC/UDF [United Democratic Front] forces and other black people. Any suggestion that the South African police might now be trusted to act as an independent peace-keeping force has been rendered vain by this judgement.

"... The massacre was followed by attempts to cover up. The initial investigation, conducted by Captain Patrick Watruss, overlooked from the start the wealth of evidence indicating police involvement in the murders, and when two honest men, a police reservist and a constable, insisted on making statements that threatened to disclose the truth, the investigation was taken over by Brigadier Christo Marx, head of the Natal CID [Criminal Investigation Department].

"Mr Justice Wilson was driven to the conclusion that Brigadier Marx, who has since been promoted and has retired, sought guidance "elsewhere" before making a statement which appeared designed to put an end to the investigation. In the end, the judge came to the conclusion that the police records, which are usually given credence in our courts, were not to be trusted.

"Nor was that the end. Attempts were made to intimidate Captain Frank Dutton, the policeman who exposed the cover-up. Even now, the first act of the commissioner (of the South African Police), General Johan van der Merwe, is to gag everybody in sight in an effort to keep the lid on.

"The effect will be to confirm the belief that the South African Police is the "third force" that operates everywhere in this season of slaughter and atrocity."

It is regrettable to note that two prominent Inkatha leaders were repeatedly implicated during the judgement, and the court heard that the conspiracy was engineered from the Inkatha headquarters in Pietermaritzburg.

This single example is, in our view, the one instance which has been proved in court of a massive, nationwide network by elements within the security forces to destabilise South Africa. The ultimate purpose is to intimidate the oppressed population into rejecting their organisation, the African National Congress. Today, more than ever before in our struggle, to be a member of the ANC is to take your life in your hands.

This policy of destabilisation is coupled with a massive propaganda offensive against the ANC. Again it is instructive to look at the weight the media threw behind the "yes" vote. This is precisely what the ANC and the democratic forces are up against. The picture painted in South Africa, and by extension to the outside world, is that it is the ANC that is the source of all evil—the

violence, crime, unemployment, torture and above all, that the ANC is anti-democratic. And this comes from a regime whose 44-year reign has brought nothing but terror, death and destruction to 30 million people. And the minister of law and order, Hernus Kriel, has the temerity to say that the government is doing all it can to end the violence, but the real responsibility lies with the ANC and Inkatha, and the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, ANC military wing—MK] is the root cause.

We are very conscious of the need to end the proliferation of armies in South Africa, whether they be the SADF [South African Defense Force] itself, the various armies and police forces under the authority of the bantustans, or those such as the Ystergade [Iron Guards]. We fully support the establishment of one democratic army, and one democratic police force, each under a unified, central command structure. We are firmly committed to the placement of MK under the authority of such democratic command structures. But to do this we need an interim government which assumes responsibility for all the security forces. That is the answer to bringing these forces under control. And we repeat: we will never simply disband MK. To do so, in the face of the daily atrocities being perpetrated against our people, would be abdication of our responsibility and political suicide.

The ANC is, therefore, determined not to allow the forces of evil to prevail. While we recognise the severe handicaps the violence places on our ability to organise and mobilise, we are determined that elections must proceed. It is the regime and Inkatha, both of whom are afraid of the verdict that will be delivered by the people in free and fair elections, who say that elections must not take place because of the violence. But that is the very purpose of the violence, and we will not bow to intimidation. The only way to end the violence is to instal an interim government of national unity in the shortest time possible, and hold elections for a constituent assembly before the end of this year.

The ANC is asking for international support to end, or at least bring under control, the violence. While details still need to be worked out, we are convinced that international monitoring, and a role in securing a peace-keeping force, will bring under the spotlight all those in our country who are determined to plunge us into the abyss. We are asking all of you here today to seriously consider this appeal and come forward with proposals that you consider viable. We stress the urgency as our people continue to be killed without mercy.

Our country desperately needs to be democratised. The violence, compounded by the catastrophic drought afflicting the whole sub-continent, can only be tackled by a government that enjoys legitimacy in the eyes of the people. As long as the South African police and the South

African Defence Force continue to be the private armed forces of the National Party, so long will the slaughter of our people continue.

Your excellencies,

The African Continent has reached the end of the last chapter of the long nightmare of apartheid and colonialism. To close that book forever requires the firm resolve and maximum unity of all anti-apartheid forces, inside and outside South Africa. The democratic forces inside South Africa have both the will and the capacity to ensure that the regime subjects itself to genuine democracy. Those same pressures that drove the apartheid regime to the negotiating table are needed to ensure a speedy political settlement. With your unwavering support we are confident of success.

I thank you.

'Joint Communiqué' Issued

AB2804192792 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Arusha—The OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa has urged the liberation movements in South Africa and the people of that country in general to promote further cooperation to ensure that apartheid policies are eradicated and genuine democracy is attained in the country.

This call is contained in a joint communiqué issued at the end of the committee's session held in Arusha today by heads of state from 10 African countries who attended the session convened to review the current situation in South Africa, Angola, and Mozambique, and the threat of famine in Africa.

The communiqué, which was read to newsmen by the OAU secretary general, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, asked for the meeting that is to discuss democracy in South Africa to be convened immediately with all interested parties ready to reach agreement.

The communiqué urged the OAU to assist in every way possible to see that such a meeting is successful.

On sanctions against the Boer regime, the committee expressed its regret over the speed at which some nations had lifted the sanctions against the Boers contrary to an agreement to lift such sanctions in phases.

The one-day session, held at the invitation of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, also vehemently condemned the killings of South African nationalists in disturbances that are instigated by the Boers, and the failure of the De Klerk regime to maintain peace in the country.

The committee, which met under the chairmanship of the current OAU chairman, President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, endorsed the call by the liberation movements in South Africa to set up a legislative assembly and constituencies that would draw up a new national constitution on the basis of justice and equality.

The heads of state also reviewed the prevailing situation in Mozambique and Angola, and commended the people of Angola for ending the civil war, a step that would pave the way for multiparty elections next September.

However, the committee expressed its regret over the savage killings of innocent citizens in Mozambique perpetrated by the Mozambique National Resistance rebels.

OAU Asks for UN Intervention

MB2904071592 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] The Organization of African Unity has asked for international intervention to try to bring about an end to the violence in black residential areas in South Africa.

The chairman of the organization and president of Nigeria, Mr. Ibrahim Babangida, said at the end of a one-day summit meeting in Arusha in Tanzania that the OAU would approach the United Nations Security Council to consider a proposal for international intervention. He said the OAU would send a team to South Africa to report on the spiralling violence to try to help with the negotiation process.

At the same time President Babangida appealed to blacks in South Africa to put an end to the violence. He said incessant violence not only mars a quick reform process but also deflates the efforts of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. The meeting also asked the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] to join the talks at Codesa.

The summit was attended by the president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, the president of the PAC, Mr. Clarence Makwetu, and the heads of state of nine [as heard] African countries.

Kenya**Official To Meet Somali USC Leader Aidid***EA2904110292 Nairobi DAILY NATION in English
29 Apr 92 pp 1, 13*

[Article by DAILY NATION reporter and correspondent: "Somali Soldiers Raid Mandera"]

[Excerpts] Kenyan troops yesterday morning repulsed an attack from soldiers of the United Somali Congress [USC] who had raided Mandera town in pursuit of former Somali President Siad Barre.

Tension was high on the border town following the entry of the USC soldiers who exchanged fire with the Kenyan troops. According to a Kenya Television Network 7 PM bulletin, reports monitored on BBC said that the USC had warned neighbouring countries not to harbour the deposed president.

The whereabouts of Barre are not exactly known but BBC reported that he had definitely fled from his stronghold in Baydhabo.

A police spokesman said last night that a woman died when she was shot by a stray bullet when Kenyan forces confronted the USC soldiers in the morning raid.

According to the spokesman, the Somali soldiers overran the town of Bulahawa in Somalia before they crossed into Kenya.

The spokesman said the soldiers, led by General Farah Aidid, looted a shop but were repulsed by Kenyan forces. Another woman, he added, was hit by one of the Army jeeps and was hospitalised.

General Aidid and his forces retreated into the no-man's land from where they sent a request to meet with Kenyan Government officials.

The provincial commissioner, Mr Amos Bore, who was in a delegation of elders to meet President Moi, returned to base late last night in preparation for this morning's meeting with Gen Aidid. The spokesman said the police will issue a full statement today.

Meanwhile, the government said it was not aware of the attempts by Barre to enter Kenya. A permanent secretary in the office of the president in charge of internal security, Mr Wilfred Kimalat, said no reports had been made of such designs. And a deputy secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Mr James Simani, said the ministry had not received reports of Barre's appearance at the Kenya Somalia border. "We are not aware of the reports and we are, therefore, not in a position to provide any comprehensive information on the issue," the PS [Permanent Secretary] told the NATION on telephone.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation said contrary to press reports, no information

had reached it of Barre's appearance. "But if he comes, we shall accord him the same status given to Somali refugees," said Mr Simani. [passage omitted]

Yesterday, Mr Simani said Mr Barre was no longer the Somali president "and, therefore, if he declares refugee [as published], then the issue will be whether to treat him as one of the Somali refugees who have been thronging into the country". But if he comes with other designs, the ministry official added, Kenya's security forces would take action. [passage omitted]

Moi Comments on Banditry, Security*EA2804215092 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 28 Apr 92*

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi said today that security was of paramount importance in the country and called on leaders at all levels to cooperate and formulate joint approaches on how to tackle acts of lawlessness in their areas. President Moi noted that elders, counselors, members of parliament, were all leaders, even though at different levels, and had the crucial task of steering the country to higher development by cultivating peace in their areas.

President Moi was speaking at State House, Nairobi, after receiving elders from Marsabit, Isiolo, Meru, Tharaka, Tana River, Lamu, Kilifi, Mandera, Garissa, and Wajir Districts. The president and the elders reviewed the security situation in their respective areas and the best way to combat banditry.

President Moi advised elders and other leaders to meet regularly to see how best to deal with the problem of banditry. He further called on the elders and wananchi [citizens] to help the administration in identifying known bandits, stressing that without security and peace no development could take place.

The president noted that because of the political strife in neighboring Somalia and Ethiopia, there has been a spillover of banditry to Kenya. He said this problem needed the concerted efforts of elders, leaders, and the administration in order to be tackled effectively. He especially called on people living along the border areas not to hide criminals from neighboring countries even if they are of their ethnic origin.

The president assured the elders that the government will enhance security in all the areas that faced the banditry problem. He pointed out that the country has been able to attain commendable level of development in all fields of endeavor because of existing stability. [passage omitted]

Molo Ethnic Clashes, Casualties Reported*EA2804215592 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 28 Apr 92*

[Excerpt] The displaced continue to flock into Molo town [northwest of Nairobi] after abandoning their

homes with tales of horror; 14 people were killed at Olenguruone Trading Center as clashes hit Molo and spread over the area. Eight people were killed in Saosa this morning, and six others died of arrow wounds at Chebakund (i.e. aplamoi), and (Shegamba). A six-year old child was said to have been killed after she was hit on the head with an iron rod. About 2,000 thousand people fleeing the fighting took refuge at Olenguruone Trading Center where security personnel gathered them before transporting them to safer places.

Administration police from Olenguruone District officer camp arrested ragged and shabbily dressed young men with bows and arrows. They are still holding the men.

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] They are still leaving by the lorry load, the lucky ones that is. The rest, young or old, simply walk away with whatever they can salvage. The heavy silence, a testimony to the horror they leave behind. Molo Secondary School overflowing with the displaced, cold and weary. The men at the mercy of the (elements), their numbers over the past seven days have reached over 5,000 in hardly the healthiest of environment. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Somalia

USC Forces Raid Kenya, Search for Siad

EA2804180092 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1600 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Tension remains high in Mandera town [northeast Kenya] today as a pursuit for a former Somali president, Siad Barre, mounted by soldiers of the United Somali Congress. [sentence as heard] Reports monitored on the BBC say that the USC has also warned its neighboring countries not to harbor the deposed Barre.

And reports from Mandera, though unconfirmed, said that tension gripped the town as looting by members of the USC invaded the town. [sentence as heard]

Akola Ali Hassan from the town said that most of the shops had been looted and cars stolen and driven off. He also said

that communication systems have been greatly hampered as the attackers may have invaded the post office.

The whereabouts of Siad Barre are not exactly known, but the BBC reported that he had definitely fled from his stronghold in Baydhabo on the Kenya-Somali border.

Further on USC Advances

EA2804192092 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu
in Somali 1700 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] An official statement from the United Somali Congress [USC] High Command says that USC troops captured Beled Hawo [on border with Kenya near Mandera] in Gedo region today at 1430.

Our reporters on the front line, Abdullahi Ahmed Sheikh Hassan Black; Abdi Muhammad Elmi, alias Abdi Dhoof; and Hassan Sheikh Ahmed Caddeh, say that Beled Hawo was captured after 30 minutes of fighting when the remnants of Siad Barre were forced to flee leaving behind large quantities of equipment, including armored vehicles, assorted ammunition assault rifles, as well as 60 dead men who had been fighting for afweyneh [big mouth; Siad nickname].

The residents of Beled Hawo and its environs welcomed the USC fighters with patriotic zeal. The fighters are still hunting for dictator Siad Barre whose whereabouts are still unknown.

USC reporter Ali Sa'id Hassan, who has been accompanying the USC fighters, says that the remnants of Siad Barre troops, the Somali National Front, robbed the people in the area and used them as beasts of burden. The USC reporter also says that he was able to go to Mandera on the Kenya side of the border this afternoon.

[In the same newscast it is reported: "An official statement from the office of the USC secretary general, Mr. Abdulkarim Ahmed Ali, states that at 0830, USC and Somali Democratic Movement [SDM] troops captured Garbahaarrey, the capital of Gedo region. The report goes on to say that the USC and SDM captured the town without resistance and were now hunting for Siad Barre and his remnants who are on the run."]

De Klerk on 'Productive' Meeting With Leaders

MB2704184992 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1828 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Text] Cape Town April 27 SAPA—The state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, met three leaders of self-governing states on Monday [27 April] for talks to clear up misunderstandings of the government's views and constitutional proposals.

The talks, which lasted most of the day, were attended by kwaZulu's Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope of Bophutatswana and Brigadier Oupa Qgozo of the Ciskei.

Mr de Klerk said the talks had been productive and constructive and that "perceived and real misunderstandings" had been removed.

"On the broad principles, there were no fundamental differences between the South African Government and the three delegations."

The talks centred around concerns about some aspects of "current day politics and the headlong rush of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] into attempting to finalise transitional or interim arrangements before there were any final agreements on constitutional issues".

The Ciskeian delegation is to place a proposal before Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2 that proceedings slow down slightly.

Brigadier Qgozo said there was little time for delegations to go back to their people with tabled proposals for careful and rational decision-making.

Codesa was moving at a pace that threatened the democratic political process.

Chief Buthelezi said it had to be remembered that they were leaders of "to a large extent" illiterate constituencies. The present violence was also prohibiting the leaders of moving freely among their people to explain the issues.

He said no documentation from Codesa had yet been translated into any African languages.

A joint statement said the leaders had gone to the state president because of concerns that if progress was to be made, "we must take our people along with us. We need to talk and listen to our constituencies to find the deepest consensus, the very essence of Codesa. We have come here today to express our deep concern as to whether the current position of Codesa honours the needs of our nation."

Mr de Klerk said the meeting was important in that it clarified perceived differences. The delegation had spoken out clearly about important arguments which needed the attention of all concerned in the constitutional debate.

"We also focused on violence and the problem of private armies for political parties.

"The air was cleared and we exchanged views on fundamental aspects of problems in the country. This will contribute to greater understanding and enable us to reach broader agreement in the negotiation process."

The government also felt that the pattern and methods at Codesa were such that they inhibited proper communication with one's power base and on a bilateral basis because of lack of time to properly analyse proposals and plans.

"This does not mean that we don't want to move swiftly to solutions, but because of the sometimes cumbersome proceedings and energy required, swift moves are impaired."

It was felt that logistics at Codesa could be revised.

Other subjects discussed between the government and the three black leaders were:

- Codesa should not be used as an arena in which some political parties sought to entrench their political advantages at the expense of what was good for the state. The delegations were not satisfied that Codesa was putting the good of the state first.

- Any constitution-making process entrusted to a popularly elected constituent assembly ran the risk of reflecting and entrenching the interests of the majority-elected party exclusively. It was highly unlikely that such a constitution would result in democratic tolerance. South Africa should not tolerate elections for an interim government or for an elected assembly before the details of a new constitution had been agreed on.

- Violence was a divisive power, and people who were victims now were likely to be victims under changed conditions. If a political organisation monopolised power it would again divide the nation and produce a new Beirut.

- Codesa had not addressed the stark choice South Africans had to make between a unitary state and a federal state. Nowhere in the world had unitary states transformed themselves into effective federations and the realities of South Africa being a plural society had to be accommodated in a new constitution.

- Elections were only democratic if electoral laws were synchronised with the requirements of the constitution and guaranteed fair definitions of constituencies and that the ground was "equally level for all aspirant candidates." The electoral laws should not be written by majority parties to favour them.

ANC Reaction to Meeting

MB2804162792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1557 GMT 28 Apr 92

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the African National Congress, ANC: "ANC Press Statement on President de Klerk's Meeting With President Lucas Mangope, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi"]

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] Press Statement on President de Klerk's Meeting With President Lucas Mangope, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi—The meeting held in Cape Town between President de Klerk and the three homeland leaders - President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwaZulu - comes as no surprise to the ANC.

The issues that they found consensus on at this meeting are precisely those areas that constitute a stumbling block to speedy progress in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

All working groups in Codesa have found that over the past weeks consistent efforts have been made to slow down, if not halt, the process, trying to ensure that Codesa II is transformed into a mere talking shop, rather than being the vehicle through which substantive decisions are taken.

The ANC's proposals for a constituent assembly would, for the first time in our history, give all people a say in their future. This most fundamental of human rights, the vote, is what really is being rejected by the participants in this meeting.

We remain firmly committed to keeping Codesa on track. Our people, who are daily being slaughtered by forces opposed to peace, will not accept delaying tactics aimed at frustrating their aspirations for peace, freedom and democracy.

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Contralesa President Comments

MB2804190592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1932 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Umtata April 28 SAPA—The leaders of the Ciskei, kwaZulu and Bophuthatswana are not interested in the black man's liberation because their hold on power depends entirely on the "Bantustan system", says Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA [South Africa] [Contralesa] President Mr Phathekile Holomisa.

Reacting to reports in Umtata on Tuesday [28 April] that the three homeland leaders had called on Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] to slow down the negotiation process, Mr Holomisa said Oupa Gqozo, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Lucas Mangope knew very well they could not make it in national elections because their power bases were imaginary.

"In view of the stance taken by these three leaders the envisaged South African interim government and the constituent assembly should be urgently implemented in order to rid the people of these authoritarian rulers as soon as possible," Mr Holomisa said.

Codesa Agrees to Zulu King Participation

MB2804194592 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1800 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] The Zulu king and other traditional leaders may take part in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. That's the agreement reached by the Management Committee of Codesa.

What still has to be decided, however, is what form that participation will take. It's been decided that each province could have 12 delegates with five advisers. This means that the Zulu king, who is the only traditional leader in Natal, would be able to have 12 representatives at Codesa. In the case of the Transvaal, the province would be sub-divided into six sub-regions along the lines of the self-governing and independent states in the province. These could each send two representatives.

Regarding the form of participation at Codesa, there are three options on the table. One is full participation for the traditional leaders, and the other is special participation only on issues affecting the traditional leaders. A third compromise option is also under consideration. A final decision on this form of participation is expected on Monday.

Dr. Frank Mdlalose of the Inkatha Freedom Party said today his party was insisting on full participation by the Zulu king.

ANC's Guidelines for Post-Apartheid Economy

MB2804164292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1600 GMT 28 Apr 92

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg April 28 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] on Tuesday [28 April] released draft guidelines for a post-apartheid economy which surprisingly backs off from wholesale nationalisation and instead maps out a strategy for a mixed economy that seems to favour private enterprise.

The draft was released at the organisation's headquarters by its economic specialist Tito Mboweni who was at pains to point out that the document still had to receive the seal of approval at an African National Congress national policy conference in Johannesburg on May 28.

Noting that its main aim was to create a strong economy, the document says the ANC measures should comprise two components—the opening up of the economy to break economic barriers created by apartheid and restructuring of the economy on the basis of new, comprehensive and sustainable policies for growth.

"We envisage a dynamic private sector, employing the skills and acumen of all South Africans, making a major contribution to the provision of good quality, attractive and competitively priced goods and services for all," says the document.

The draft continues that everyone should be protected against arbitrary and lawless interference with their property rights.

If it was in the public interest to take away property, it should be done in terms of the law and with just compensation.

The state would have primary responsibility for health care, education and basic social security. In addition, it should also be responsible for the country's infrastructure such as roads, telecommunications, power stations, transport and dams.

On the question of the immense economic concentration in few hands, the ANC said it was not against large firms as such.

"However, we will investigate the possibility of introducing anti-monopoly and mergers policies in accordance with international norms and practices to curb monopolies, continued domination of the economy by a minority within the white minority and promote greater efficiency in the private sector."

The document continues that an ANC-dominated government would approach the national economy guided by the balance of evidence rather than according to any rigid ideological framework.

"Such flexibility means assessing the balance of evidence when deciding on the merit of:

- increasing public sector economic activity through, for example, nationalisation (subject to compensation) or by means of purchasing a share-holding in companies through the market process; or
- establishing new public corporations or joint ventures between the state and private sector; or
- reducing the role of the private sector through privatisation."

On the question of the redistribution of wealth, the draft said this would be financed largely through a broadly based and progressive tax structure, the details of which would be worked out by a special fiscal commission.

Turning to mineral rights, the ANC said its mining policy should comprise the introduction of a new system of taxation, financing and leasing, with public ownership and joint ventures being considered where appropriate.

The export of higher-valued goods would be encouraged to strengthen the balance of payments position, improve competitiveness and create jobs.

Foreign investment would be promoted through guarantees on the repatriation of after-tax profits, the purchase

of inputs, the sale of domestic assets and through the creation of a climate of peace and stability.

"In addition, foreign firms will not be nationalised without adequate and fair compensation." But foreign firms, if they stayed, would have to comply with local regulations dealing with the environment, labour market, education and training of workers and affirmative action.

"South Africa will in general endorse the multi-lateral system of trade liberalising arrangements centred on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)," read the document.

The ANC would persuade developed countries to assist in the development process of southern Africa.

On the fishing industry, the ANC favoured a restructuring away from large fishing companies to smaller, community-based fisheries.

It added that trade barriers would be adjusted, within an agreed framework, to prevent the destruction of domestic jobs and the exploitation of the South African consumer.

Mr Mboweni admitted there were numerous gaps in the document, especially those dealing with the armed forces and police, a media policy, housing and basic services, international relations and rural development.

"But these gaps are being worked on by our policy departments and will be presented in the second draft for the national policy conference.

"We hope to emerge from the national policy conference with a consolidated ANC policy guidelines document which will guide the ANC in working out the finer details of policy once a democratic government has been put in place by the majority of our people," said Mr Mboweni.

ANC's Gwala: 'We Kill Inkatha Warlords'

*MB2804202692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1933 GMT 28 Apr 92*

[Text] Pietermaritzburg April 28 SAPA—The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] on Tuesday [28 April] joined the government in calling for disciplinary action against the African National Congress' [ANC] Natal Midlands Chairman Harry Gwala following an interview with a London newspaper in which he stated that the ANC "killed Inkatha warlords".

In addition, the co-chairman of the Natal kwaZulu regional Dispute Resolution Committee, Mr M C Pretorius, said the matter would be referred to the National Peace Committee.

Mr Gwala was quoted as saying: "Make no mistake, we kill Inkatha warlords".

"Why be apologetic about it? When they come to attack us we offer them no Bibles.

"But we do not kill women and children. That is the difference between us and Inkatha. Also, we believe we're fighting a just war," Mr Gwala is reported saying.

According to Mr Pretorius, Mr Gwala's statement was a clear indication of political intolerance.

"This does not help the course of peace in the country and makes the job of the dispute resolution committee very difficult."

Earlier on Tuesday, Mr George Bartlett, leader of the National Party in Natal, said ANC leaders had to take action against Mr Gwala.

"Now we have it right from the man's mouth himself. He says he is prepared to kill people," Mr Bartlett said.

He said the ANC leadership should be concerned about Mr Gwala's statements. "He is a senior member of the National Executive Committee. They should discipline him.

"The ANC leadership, who profess they want a peaceful solution, should oust this man from the national committee, otherwise they are smeared with this too," Mr Bartlett said.

Mr Kim Hodgson, from the Inkatha Institute, said Mr Gwala should be brought before an ANC disciplinary hearing and added that his statements should be referred to the Goldstone Commission for investigation.

"How his statements have been allowed to pass by the SAP [South African Police] and the peace structures, heaven alone only knows," Mr Hodgson said.

—The ANC deputy chairman for the Midlands region, Mr Reggie Hadebe, said he was present at the interview and that Mr Gwala's statements were taken out of context.

"What Comrade Gwala said was that when known IFP warlords attacked ANC members those members acted in self-defence. The emphasis was clearly on self-defence and not on the fact that the ANC killed IFP warlords."

The national office of the ANC declined to offer immediate comment.

Reaction to Du Plessis' 'Shock Resignation'

*MB2604125892 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1000 GMT 26 Apr 92*

[Excerpts] Barend du Plessis' shock resignation as finance minister may signal a change in direction for the National Party [NP]. Du Plessis told his constituents in the West Rand yesterday that he's retiring from politics at the end of this month. [passage omitted]

The SUNDAY TRIBUNE newspaper reports Du Plessis's resignation signals a major defeat for the National Party's liberal wing. The paper says Du Plessis's resignation comes amidst disclosures that the government will abandon Codesa [Convention for a

Democratic South Africa] unless it gets its way over De Klerk's latest power-sharing proposals.

There's intense speculation that the resignation follows a showdown between De Klerk and Du Plessis. Both CP [Conservative Party] and DP [Democratic Party] sources now speculate that De Klerk is set to swing the National Party to the right because he's losing patience with the deadlock talks in Codesa.

Boer Commando Rejects Outlawing Private Armies

*MB2804143592 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1100 GMT 28 Apr 92*

[Text] A right-wing paramilitary leader has rejected the government's plans to outlaw private armies. Boer Commando leader Gawie Volschenk says his movement is the property of the Afrikaner and therefore cannot be banned. He says the Boer Commando is not the property of any political party or organization and to ban it would require the banning of the whole Afrikaner nation. Volschenk has also warned what he calls the De Klerk-Mandela government that his paramilitary movement won't allow itself to be threatened in its own country.

Pretoria Takes Over Neighboring Black Township

*MB2904092692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2136 GMT 28 Apr 92*

[Text] Pretoria April 28 SAPA—The white Pretoria City Council took over the administration of its neighbouring black township on Tuesday [28 April] night with council agreement that its town clerk would act as the town clerk of Atteridgeville, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported.

The council decided it would inform the Transvaal administrator that it had agreed, according to the Black Local Governments Act of 1982, to perform all the duties of the Atteridgeville Town Council.

According to Section 20 of the same act, the management committee of Pretoria was appointed as the executive committee of Atteridgeville.

In a lengthy debate during the monthly council meeting, the Conservative Party [CP] objected to these measures and charged the National Party [NP] had annexed Atteridgeville in colonial fashion.

CP councillors said Johannesburg had tried similar measures to help neighbouring black townships but had failed.

The NP leader in the council, Dr Pieter Smith, said Atteridgeville was part and parcel of Pretoria and every cent invested in the black township would ensure a safer Pretoria.

ANC Detainees Discuss ANC Prison Camps

MB2404144492 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1830 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Interview with former African National Congress detainees, Mr. Mwezi Twala in the Johannesburg studio and Mr. Patrick Hlongwane in the Durban studio by South African Broadcasting Corporation presenter Penny Smythe in Johannesburg, on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Smythe] The African National Congress [ANC] is again coming under fire for their alleged detention centers and are also being accused of still having detainees in these camps. Not only are these accusations coming from former detainees, but also from prestigious international organizations like the International Society for Human Rights. In the studio with me this evening is Mr. Mwezi Twala, a former Quatro camp detainee, and in our Durban studio Mr. Patrick Hlongwane, another former detainee. Now I have to say that we did invite the ANC to send a representative to our discussion this evening on Agenda, they did agree in the beginning and named a participant, but as of about three o'clock this afternoon we received a telex to say that they would not be participating. So we have our two gentlemen, one here in Johannesburg, one in Durban. Can Mr. Hlongwane hear me in Durban? Not at the moment. So I'll start with you Mr. Twala. You were in the Quatro camp. Is that a camp or is that a regular prison.

[Twala] Well it is an irregular prison in that it's not like normal prisons that people are used to, and even the regime of the prison is terrible, maybe comparable to Gulags which one has read about. I think you can only compare it to that.

[Smythe] Whereabouts was this camp?

[Twala] It was situated in the northern part of Angola, the northern part of Luanda, say about plus or minus 300 km from Luanda. In Bengo Province. Its near Quibaxe, a small town called Quibaxe. It's not far from that.

[Smythe] I'm not sure if Mr. Hlongwane can hear me yet? Not yet? So we will go on with our first little piece of file footage that we have before we start our, hopefully, three-way discussion. Let's take a look at this.

[Begin video recording] [ANC President Nelson Mandela] We did keep a prison and we did arrest and detain prisoners but they have now all been freed, and we are keeping no prisons whatsoever.

[SABC presenter Pekhwane Mashilwane] Categorically you don't have prison facilities in exile at the moment?

[Mandela] No, definitely not. [end recording]

[Smythe] Well, there you have the president of the ANC, Mr. Mandela, giving a very definite assurance that there are no more prisoners in camps controlled by the ANC.

However, in London, the President of the International Society for Human Rights Reinhard Gnauck has this to say.

[Begin Gnauck recording] There has been brutal torture. There has been killing. There has been summary executions and people have disappeared and are still missing. An estimated few hundred are still kept in the custody of the ANC abroad and are prevented from returning home. [end recording]

[Smythe] Well I understand that Mr. Hlongwane can now hear us in Durban. So good evening to you.

[Hlongwane] Good evening.

[Smythe] You of course, I think, were in more than one camp, is that correct?

[Hlongwane] Yes.

[Smythe] Whereabouts were you?

[Hlongwane] Firstly, I was locked up in the concentration camp, which is called RC in Lusaka in Zambia. And then from there I was smuggled to Angola in the very notorious concentration camp of the ANC, which is tantamount to Buchenwald which was once run by Hitler during the thirties. Then from there we were smuggled to Uganda.

[Smythe] And how long were you detained in these camps altogether?

[Hlongwane] Actually, I have served six years.

[Smythe] Now you, Mr. Twala, how long were you involved with these camps? How long were you detained?

[Twala] It's four years nine months.

[Smythe] Now we heard there as we said, Mr. Mandela categorically denying that there were any more prisoners in these camps. What would your reaction to that be?

[Twala] Well, I would take that with a pinch of salt. Because there definitely are still people being kept because with the reports we are getting, they are that some of the detainees have not yet come back to this country. If they are not still in detention, then it would mean, therefore, that they are dead.

[Smythe] Mr. Hlongwane, what is your experience with this? Would you also take Mr. Mandela's statement with a pinch of salt?

[Hlongwane] Yes actually, myself, I am the person who is dealing with foreign countries, more especially in the African states, trying to get more information about people who are still in the ANC concentration camps. And I believe that presently the ANC is trying to eliminate those who are still behind the bars.

[Smythe] Now what makes you believe that there are people still behind bars? That there are still people in these camps?

[Hlongwane] It's because number one: I'm talking about something which has took place today. You know, there are people who had arrived last week on Thursday [16 April], and these people; the other one is from Tanzania, and the other one is from Kenya. So I spoke to them, and then they have related everything to me. So hence I say, and hence I insist that, you know, there should be an independent judiciary commission of enquiry to go and investigate about this, because our brothers and sisters, they are still in the ANC concentration camps.

[Smythe] Did these people come back as a result of your Returned Exiles Committee?

[Hlongwane] Of course, of course, because you see these two people that I have met today, I believe that they are from different concentration camps of the ANC because, even myself, I was not aware that the ANC is also running concentration camps in Kenya. So it was a surprise to me today and more especially the letters and the information that I'm receiving every day from the people who are right in those countries.

[Smythe] Now, we saw also the president of the International Society for Human Rights mentioning the torture situation, that the information he has that led to torture of some of the detainees. Was that your experience Mr. Twala?

[Twala] Well, I've seen people who have been tortured; our group, because it was the group of mutineers, so called mutineers.

[Smythe] What were you mutineering against?

[Twala] Now, we were demanding a conference.

[Smythe] With whom?

[Twala] It was the—almost as Tambo has admitted himself in the congress that was held in Durban last year—that it was more than 90 percent of the army which demanded this conference.

[Smythe] With the leadership of the ANC?

[Twala] We demanded that a conference should be held. We were demanding it to the leadership of the ANC.

[Smythe] And as a result of that they detained you in these camps?

[Twala] Of course repressions followed from it.

[Smythe] And were you yourself tortured or beaten at all?

[Twala] Well, there were daily beatings. You know, the beatings were daily but I think physical torture is something that anyone can survive. What was terrible was the mental torture, when people were dehumanized.

[Smythe] In what way? Could you give us some idea of what that involved?

[Twala] Just from our reception at the place. We were made to throw off all our clothes and then we were handed lousy clothes that were, you know, the uniform

that was used there. It was lousy because you could see lice running all over the clothes and it's a terrible thing you know, to wear something like that. The shoes that were given to us were sports shoes that were dirty, you know, that were used by other people and they were of different sizes.

[Smythe] Mr. Hlongwane, you mentioned a little earlier on the need for an independent judicial inquiry into these camps. You actually had a letter printed in an evening newspaper yesterday in which you really sort of said that you didn't accept that the ANC commission of inquiry had any credibility at all. Am I correct in that?

[Hlongwane] Yes you are correct.

[Smythe] Why do you feel this?

[Hlongwane] You know, I'm not surprised when Mandela denies that there are still prisoners in his camps because if I can quote Mandela 1990, or early 1991, if I'm not mistaken. He was in London with (Tony Mongale) and he denied publicly in London that there are still concentration camps of the ANC in Africa. Those camps, they are still existing. And then on that score, when he denies, you know, it happens that on the 18 February 1991, (Tony Mongale), who was with Nelson Mandela in London, he's the one who came back to our camp, to the camp in Uganda where he came with a tribunal, with other communists. That is when I was sentenced to 15 years, to hard labor, by the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party. So I'm not surprised when Mandela denies that there are still our brothers and sisters in his concentration camp; and secondly, why I am calling for an independent judicial commission of inquiry is because I'm against the kangaroo commission of inquiry which has been set up by Mandela himself.

[Smythe] Alright, Mr. Twala, why do you feel it's important for the ANC to actually have an independent or an international commission of inquiry?

[Twala] I should think the ANC has to cleanse itself. I should think this will continue cropping up. We can't, I mean, run away from it and they need to clear their name. They need to, I mean, if there are those people who have been responsible for this they need to account but ANC has to be retained and it has to be clean. They have a duty. I mean, they'll be going for elections and I think they need to clear their name.

[Smythe] Mr. Hlongwane, what do you feel that you can do through your committee to put pressure on international communities to get this judicial inquiry going?

[Hlongwane] Yes of course, presently we are busy trying to contact many organizations internationally, who, you know, who are also capable in assisting or protecting, you know, human rights or more so, you know, organizations that can give any assistance to our plight as the people who are calling for an independent commission of

inquiry, because we do not recognize the commission of inquiry which has been set up by Nelson Mandela himself and his colleagues.

[Smythe] What do you think the South African Government can do, if anything, to influence the situation?

[Hlongwane] Actually, you know, look just recently I have written a letter, an open letter, to the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, informing him about what is taking place in Uganda presently because we are very much aware that, you know, a certain guy, and he is a top leader of the ANC, that is Andrew Masonto who is the chief representative of the ANC, presently he is trying to eliminate the members of the ANC, you see, right in Kampala. Now, we as the returnees who have been tortured by the same people who are going to be killed by the leaders of the ANC president, now it's our duty to write letters to the United Nations and to the International Red Cross and even to make a request to the South African Government to intervene in this because those people are South African citizens.

[Smythe] Alright, now before we go on we were talking about the necessity of having an independent judicial commission of inquiry, but before we go on let's take a look at another clip from Mr. Mandela.

[Begin recording] [SABC presenter Freek Robinson] Will you be prepared to allow the International Red Cross or journalists to go to these camps to investigate themselves?

[Mandela] I don't think that we ourselves can have any objection, but of course these camps are in countries which are independent, which are not controlled by us. They must make arrangements you see, also with those countries. If they get permission we will not restrict them from visiting our own camps. [end recording]

[Smythe] But it doesn't seem to be that easy. When we spoke to the president of the International Society for Human Rights he had this to say:

[Begin Gnauck recording] The International Committee of the Red Cross has asked the ANC to cooperate, visiting those camps and as we know and know from the newspaper, the ANC has led the International Committee of the Red Cross by the nose and of course our own requests to Mr. Ramaphosa, the secretary general of the ANC, to give us permission to enter those camps have not led anywhere. [end recording]

[Smythe] Why do you believe that countries like Uganda, Mr. Twala, would actually put up any problems to people going to visit, like the Red Cross for example? Why would they find it difficult to allow people in?

[Twala] I think the president of the International Society for Human Rights was saying that it is the ANC that does not allow them to go and visit their camps. But I think if the ANC is genuine it will have to use its, you know, offices, you know, the influence of its offices to persuade these African governments, that—look, our name is being pulled in the mud. We need these independent,

international commissions to come and investigate. I think they have a duty, not only to themselves, but to the people of South Africa.

[Smythe] I'd like to ask both of you in fact, we have read many articles, many letters etc., people who have denounced the ANC or spoken out against the ANC, who are now in fear of their lives. Why have you suddenly decided to come forward and put yourself possibly in a very dangerous position?

[Twala] I think in every society there will be those people who are scared. People are not all the same but there will be those people who have certain principles, that only death can silence them.

[Smythe] Mr. Hlongwane, what would your response be to that? Why have you suddenly—well you are president of the Returned Exiles Committee, but why would you feel yourself safe to speak out about all this?

[Hlongwane] Actually, we, as the Returned Exiles Committee, it's our duty to expose the atrocities that have been committed by the African National Congress, to its own people, that is a black people, and more so it's our duty even to politicize, or not to politicize but to explain to the members of the ANC, you know, about the African National Congress, what the African National Congress is because some of them they don't know what the ANC is. And people who know this ANC is [as heard] the members of my committee because we have been with the African National Congress intelligence service. We know them in and out and we have been indoctrinated by the African National Congress. They have forced us to learn Marxism, hence today, you know, we are gaining support. Now people, they don't want nothing from the African National Congress. Now, what they are doing, they are joining us underground and more so we cannot disclose their names because we must save their lives.

[Smythe] You have written in that letter that I mentioned earlier on, you have information of a plan to eliminate certain persons detained in ANC camps. Could you give us a bit more information on that, Mr. Hlongwane?

[Hlongwane] You see, when coming to that, I do have them. I do have letters, and I do have full information and details. You see, number one, I'm going to tell about Uganda, just for a second. Uganda is a very corrupt country.

[Smythe] Could you just tell us about the information that you have because, I'm sorry, we're running out of time.

[Hlongwane] Yes. The information that I have is that in Uganda the chief representative of the ANC—that is Andrew Masonto—is now planning to eliminate, you know, his own comrades who are working—actually, the prison wardens who are working in the security department of the ANC—because he feels that those people, when they come back to South Africa, they are going to join us, and these people, now, they are appealing to us, as the Returning Exiles Committee, to intervene in this.

And their parents, they have tried to consult us, and we had a meeting with them, and we have said to them: We are going to contact the United Nations and even President de Klerk so that he should also intervene in this.

[Smythe] Thank you, Mr. Hlongwane, and thank you very much, Mr. Twala, for joining us on Agenda. I'm sorry that you didn't have the third party, a member of the ANC, to perhaps put their arguments forward, or in defense of themselves, or to explain their situation. I'm sorry we weren't able to have them along with us. Thank you for joining us on Agenda.

ANC Denies Having Detainees

MB2404153392 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 24 Apr 92

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Excerpts] The African National Congress [ANC] has come under renewed pressure, both locally and internationally, to allow an independent commission of inquiry to investigate allegations of continuing detention of dissident members outside South Africa. Stein de Preuter reports:

[De Preuter] The returning exiles still claim that ANC dissident members are being detained and tortured in camps in countries like Uganda and Kenya. [passage omitted] Calls by the German-based International Society for Human Rights that an independent commission of inquiry be allowed to investigate these allegations are backed up by returnees. [passage omitted]

The ANC itself refrained from commenting on the matter. ANC spokesperson Gill Marcus says the organization is holding its own inquiry:

[Begin recording] [Marcus] There is a commission of inquiry under way, and while that commission is sitting at this point in time we have no further comment to make.

[Unidentified reporter] So you cannot say whether you will possibly allow an independent judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the matter?

[Marcus] Well, as we explained on this thing, this commission, while it is set up by the ANC, it is not ANC members who are doing it; it is independent lawyers. It is not that we have appointed ANC people to investigate themselves.

[Reporter] Who appointed those lawyers?

[Marcus] The lawyers were chosen by the ANC, or recommended, but they are not ANC members. It is an ANC commission which has hearings which anybody is entitled to go to. That commission has people on it who are not ANC at all. Some are, some are not. Well, most of them are not. And in addition, the question of access to, or the allegations that there are camps—we have said repeatedly, and we have had quite extensive discussions with the International Committee of the Red Cross, who we have said we would

welcome and assist in any way possible to investigate any allegations of current camps. As far as we are aware there are no detainees. [end recording]

Mandela Policies Said Difficult To Interpret

MB2804193692 Durban ILANGA in Zulu
15-18 Apr 92 p 11

[From the "Comment and Opinion" column published in English: "Mandela's Judgement Will be Open To Question"]

[Text] It is becoming increasingly difficult to interpret the policies espoused by the leader of the ANC [African National Congress], Dr. Nelson Mandela.

One day he announces that the ANC is reviewing its policy of "nationalisation." A few days later he is insisting that "nationalisation" is still one of the options in ANC economic planning.

One day he is for friendship with the U.S. and the Western Democracies, only to berate them the next day for having the temerity to demand that Libya's al-Qadhafi hand over two of his agents suspected of blowing up a PAN AM jet over Lockerbie with the loss of hundreds of civilian lives.

But the above examples are nothing to the political contortions he has performed in Natal in the last week.

First he was ready to receive an honorary degree from Natal University. Then some student hotheads objected to his being capped by the Chancellor of the University, Mr. Justice Leon.

The reason given was that Mr. Justice Leon was the judge who presided at the trial of the man who planted a bomb at a supermarket some years ago and was sentenced to death.

After some hesitation Mr. Mandela announced that he could not attend the graduation for "reasons of state". The "reasons of state" turned about to be a rabble-rousing tour of the townships, about which more later.

The fact that five innocent people died in the explosion at the super-market apparently meant nothing either to the protesters or to Mr. Mandela. This is such an amoral attitude as to cast doubt on the sincerity of his calls for reconciliation. Yet, our University wishes to honour him.

On Friday Mr. Mandela exhorted people Empangeni to work for African unity and expressed the hope that the ANC, the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] and the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] could together confront the NP [National Party] at the polls. There are many who thought that it has last at dawned on Mr. Mandela and the ANC that there could not be non-racial unity unless there was African unity; that as long as Africans were killing each other all talk of non-racial unity was a cruel farce.

Yet on Sunday the same Mr. Mandela delivered a stinging attack on the IFP, saying that it and the police and army were responsible for the deaths of 13,000 people.

The IFP, he also charged, was preventing a meeting between himself and His Majesty the King of the Zulus. He would make one more effort to see the King and if that did not meet with success, he would never try again.

This was certainly a novel way of forcing an invitation out of a King. But it revealed something else. Mr. Mandela does not seem to be aware that a large number of people know that it is the ANC leader who over and over again has bowed to left-wing militants who do not wish to see him meet either the IFP leadership or the King.

Mr. Mandela deliberately used "microphone" diplomacy to impress his militant audience and thwart any possibility of reconciliation with the IFP or the King.

Sooner or later the judgment of a leader who indulges in such tactics will be called into question, not only by the public at large, but by the more responsible people in the ANC.

Mandela Scorns Canada's Two-Chamber Parliament

*MB2804193592 Durban ILANGA in Zulu
15-18 Apr 92 p 11*

[From the "Comment and Opinion" column published in English: "The Lady Was Not Amused"]

[Text] The face of Canada's foreign minister, Ms. Barbara McDougall, was a picture of complete puzzlement as she sat at the side of Nelson Mandela in front of the television cameras at a joint press conference.

The ANC [African National Congress] President told the world that he would like the international community to ensure that "ordinary democracy" was implemented in South Africa.

"We can never accept these two houses (of parliament) ... these fancy proposals from the Government. We want an ordinary democracy as practised elsewhere in the world," Mandela said.

Out of Africa, she must have thought to herself, always something new. Did her country not have "ordinary democracy." Yet, here was the famous Nelson telling her, in effect, that her country, with its two-chamber parliament was not democratic.

The constitution of Canada is a federal one and there are two chambers, a lower house; known as the House of Commons and a Senate.

The Senate had been quite troublesome at the beginning of her party's administration, because the Liberal opposition had a majority there. Yet that had seemed quite normal and democratic.

She must have wondered where "elsewhere in the world" ordinary democracy was being practised.

Were democracies like those in the United States, Britain, Japan, France, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands not successful? Did they not have second houses?

Come to think of it, which democracy did not have a second house of parliament?

Nelson Mandela was not asked what was so fancy about a two-chamber parliament, so the good foreign minister probably is still at a loss about Nelson's "fancy" thinking of democracy.

Perhaps the democracy he and his ANC colleagues have in mind is not of the ordinary variety after all.

Winnie Mandela Interviewed on Violence

*MB2704055692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2209 GMT 26 Apr 92*

[Text] Johannesburg April 26 SAPA—Winnie Mandela on Sunday [26 April] night refused to discuss a videoed statement in 1986 in which she appeared to come out in support of necklacing, saying she personally never had resorted to the practice. Mrs Mandela, the estranged wife of the African National Congress President Nelson Mandela, was being interviewed by Ruda Landman on the M-Net TV programme Carte Blanche. She said she had been quoted out of context on that statement, and all she was prepared to say on the matter was that she never had necklaced or shot anyone.

Mrs Mandela added she preferred the interview to deal rather with the present reality in the country. Blood was flowing because people do not agree with each other ideologically, she said. "Even if that statement (about necklacing) had been made a million times are you telling me that you are justifying the deaths of over 11,000 of our people who have died in the hands of the racist minority regime," Mrs Mandela said in the M-Net interview.

"Is anything more cruel than what we are seeing today: our children butchered. Our babies shot at the backs of mothers by a government that is in fact bent on killing our people."

When Ms Landman again tried to bring the discussion around to the alleged necklacing statement, Mrs Mandela said whether she was quoted in or out of context, she did not wish to discuss the matter as it was not in the agreement of the interview. Mrs Mandela had laid down certain conditions prior to interview which included that the Stompie Seipei and Dr Abu-Baker Asvat cases were not to be discussed.

Asked why she did not want to discuss these cases, Mrs Mandela said the death of Dr Asvat, a great man, was being abused. She said she would give a statement after her appeal had been heard. "My hands are tied now."

To a question whether people feared her, Mrs Mandela said she hoped that this was not the case. On the contrary she has been receiving "volumes" of messages of love

and sympathy recently. Mrs Mandela dismissed as "non-sensical" Ms Landman's question whether she could be regarded as a dangerous woman.

According to the M-Net presenters, it was the first in-depth interview Mrs Mandela had given on television.

Morocco Establishes Diplomatic Ties

MB2804151892 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1400 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] The Kingdom of Morocco has officially established diplomatic ties with South Africa, making it the first Muslim state to open an interest office in the Republic. Mr. (Said Benriaan) who will head the office, presented his letter of introduction to the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, in Cape Town today. Mr. (Benriaan) expressed the hope that Morocco's position, bridging the Arab and African worlds and its status as a member of the United Nations Security Council, would provide it with the leverage to promote prosperity and development in the region. Mr. Botha said the opening of diplomatic links with Morocco marked the beginning of an expansion of relations between South Africa and the Arab world.

* Trade Relations With Japan Reviewed

92AF0689A Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English
22 Mar 92 pp 5-7

[Article: "Japan—Market for the Taking"]

[Text] When the noose of sanctions began to tighten in 1987, Japan was South Africa's largest trading partner.

The Japanese have always considered trade the most sacrosanct of activities. It was with great reluctance—and a modicum of pressure from foreign governments—that it started to downrate SA [Republic of South Africa] as an export market.

Banned were steel imports, exports of arms, computers and certain vehicle types, new investment and loans to SA, and in the process Japan relinquished its top trading status to Germany, Italy and Britain.

But in October last year Japan announced the lifting of sanctions against SA, a move attacked by black opposition groups as premature. The consular office has since been upgraded to an embassy.

Japan is the world's second-largest economy, after the U.S., and certainly the most dynamic. SA accounts for less than 1 percent of Japan's trade, but as Japan's consul in SA, Yoshiaki Murakami, points out: "SA is still one of the most important trading partners for Japan."

About 80 percent of Japan's land mass is mountainous and therefore unsuitable for any form of economic activity. It is a country with virtually no natural

resources other than an enormous reservoir of human skills, compelling it to import virtually all its raw-material requirements.

The domestic market proved too small for this island nation, which remained cloistered and inward-looking until the Meiji restoration in 1868, an event which heralded the birth of modern Japan after 600 years of feudal rule by military shoguns.

Japan's success in the world export markets is nothing short of astounding, culminating in a trade surplus of close to US\$100-billion in 1991, equal to SA's gross domestic product.

Obedience

Countless books and academic tomes have attempted to analyse the cultural and philosophic dynamics behind Japan's economic success.

Why is it that a simple word from Japan's prime minister is sufficient to command obedience from the country's leading industrialists at a potential cost of billions of dollars in lost business?

The Japanese never legislated sanctions into being. The government simply urged self-restraint from those corporations trading with SA.

The unity of purpose among Japanese corporations smacks of nationalism. Competing companies will co-operate in developing new export markets for the broader good of the country. This has infuriated the Americans, who can only stand and watch as the U.S. car market slips increasingly into Japanese hands.

Acumen

The Japanese have had a long-established presence in SA. Toyota, Nissan and National Panasonic have been represented in SA for nearly 30 years. Japanese cargo and fishing vessels have been calling in at Durban and Cape Town for decades.

After some hesitation, SA's ruling National Party felt compelled to extend the status of "honorary whites" to Japanese visitors as a sort of acknowledgement of their superior business acumen.

Today a host of Japanese brands are household names in SA: Sony, Akai, Aiwa, Toshiba, National Panasonic, Hitachi, Fuji, Toyota, Nissan, Mazda, Kawasaki, Honda—all names synonymous with quality and performance excellence. Roughly half the cars sold in SA are Japanese. National Panasonic is a market leader in consumer electronics. Yet the Japanese population in SA is little more than 500.

In virtually every field of advanced technology Japanese products dominate. SA relies to an increasing extent on Japanese technology in industry and consumer products. Machinery accounts for more than three-quarters of SA's imports from Japan.

With the lifting of sanctions, a wave of new technology—from industrial machinery to computers—will start to appear in SA. The race to improve export competitiveness in SA will depend to a large degree on access to Japanese technology.

For SA, there is little scope to export anything other than raw materials to Japan. Barring a few exceptions, SA's manufactured products fall below the quality expectations of discerning Japanese consumers.

Mr. Murakami says there are opportunities for Japan to increase its imports of raw materials from SA: "On the other side, SA has some strong attractions for Japanese tourists and this is a market which I think will grow."

Disastrous

Simon Organ, a director of investment research company, Nichi-Nan-A Kenkyusho (Japan-SA Research Institute), which investigates SA-Japan opportunities, says there is scope for adding value to SA's raw material exports by beneficiating them locally.

"The allure of exciting, reopened markets is potentially disastrous if culminated in the signing of lengthy supply agreements for our raw materials. As with Japan in the forties, SA has to emerge from its isolation as an industrial nation. And the Japanese must surface as partners in industry, not trade."

And therein lies the crux. SA needs Japanese investment for the kind of economic growth required to create a climate of peace and prosperity in the new SA. So far, Japanese corporations are merely observing SA. When political violence subsides and an orderly reform process is assured, SA will become an inevitable vehicle for Japanese investment.

There seems little doubt that in a few short years Japan will re-emerge as SA's largest trading partner despite SA's protectionist policies, designed in the sanctions years to protect local industry.

Generous

Without protection, SA's car industry would have been stillborn. It has been mooted that the motor industry is one area in which the Japanese are keen to invest, given SA's generous export allowances. How would the industry fare with lower import protection and, presumably, lower export allowances?

These are factors the government will have to consider when choosing an appropriate economic path for the country.

Here's an Export Office Which is Actually Promoting Imports

One of the ironies born out of Japan's staggering trade surplus is a government-sponsored export body that promotes imports.

The Japan External Trade Organisation (Jetro), formed to assist Japanese corporations to capture new export markets, was instructed 10 years ago to concentrate on import promotion as part of the country's campaign to reduce its US\$100-billion trade surplus in 1991.

Hideichi Okamoto, Jetro's Johannesburg director, says: "We now spend 80 percent of our time promoting imports. But the scope for increasing imports to Japan is dependent on the rate of growth in the Japanese economy, which will be about 3 percent this year, well down from last year's level of about 4 percent."

Jetro, a semi-government body, has been represented in SA since 1961. During sanctions its SA representation was downgraded to reflect SA's pariah status. Now that sanctions are lifted, Mr. Okamoto says, relations will normalise although he does not see much scope for increasing trade volumes immediately.

"There is potential for increasing gold, diamonds and platinum exports in view of the strong growth in the Japanese jewellery market. Raw material imports will pick up when the rate of growth in the Japanese economy improves. This year economic growth will be about 3 percent, which is much lower than in previous years."

Trade between SA and Japan was worth \$3.3-billion (R[ands]9.2-billion) in 1990, with the balance of trade weighted slightly in SA's favour. In the first nine months of 1991 SA increased its imports from Japan by 13 percent, particularly in the area of motor components, audio-visual equipment and industrial machinery.

Japan scaled down its imports of gold, vanadium oxide, chromium ore, aluminium and foodstuffs, but increased imports of iron and manganese ore, ferro-alloys and pulp.

Mr. Okamoto says growth in the Japanese economy will be spurred by land prices: "Some of the most expensive real estate in the world is found in Japan."

Pressure

"Companies tend to bond the land and invest the borrowed money, but now that land prices are falling their collateral is worth less. Until recently land prices increased by between 20 percent and 25 percent a year, but last year were down to 7 percent."

The Japanese success story was built on exports but its major trading partners—particularly the U.S.—put pressure on the Japanese to open their economy to foreigners. Responding to this pressure, the Japanese government embarked on a drive to liberalise its financial and goods markets. According to a Barclays Bank report on Japan, the trade surplus will decline to \$20-billion by 1994.

Mr. Okamoto says there is little prospect of reducing the trade surplus with European trade partners.

"Many European countries are not interested in the Japanese markets. It is much simpler to focus on nearby markets than try to penetrate a market many thousands of miles away."

One area which is likely to boom is tourism to SA from Japan. In 1990 5,000 Japanese visited SA, many of whom were businessmen. Provisional figures for 1991 suggest that 10,000 Japanese visitors came to SA. More than 11-million Japanese travel abroad each year, representing a huge potential market for SA, which has excellent golfing facilities and sophisticated game parks, two qualities highly rated by the Japanese.

"The Cape of Good Hope is considered very famous by Japanese visitors. The type of holidays preferred in Japan are generally packaged, with plenty of emphasis on scenic tours, golf and safaris. They like to spend a few days at a number of different resorts."

There are no direct flights to and from Japan, nor is there much call for such a service until traffic between the two countries increases. At present travellers to Japan generally catch connecting flights in Taiwan, Hong Kong or Singapore.

Mr. Okamoto says Japanese investment in SA, when it comes, will focus on job creation. The deputy president of Nafcoc (National African Federated Chamber of Commerce), Archibald Nkonyeni, has been invited to Japan to assess various areas of co-operation between Japan and SA.

Stability the Key to Growth

Japanese investment could play a decisive role in promoting economic growth in SA.

But irreparable damage has been done to the economy by apartheid, which cost the country billions in lost Japanese investment, says Godfrey Busschau, a Japan expert with Pacific Rim Consultants.

"The Japanese have identified Brazil, southern Africa and mainland China as growth markets. I do not see any investment pouring in here until conditions are more favourable."

Economists say SA's high company tax, high interest and inflation rates, high import tariffs and labour instability scare investors away. Particularly worrying for the Japanese is talk of nationalisation by the ANC [African National Congress].

"Japanese investment will only come to SA when there are signs of political stability and return on investment improves," says Japan expert Simon Organ. This means better incentives, lower company tax and interest rates, inflation under control and labour stability.

Minister of Trade and Industry Derek Keys says the government does not propose to give foreign investors a better deal than that offered to SA investors.

He says: "There are four factors which would have a crucial bearing on any future SA government's trade and investment policies.

Notice

"One, growing internal markets for decades ahead. Two, industrial development for basic internal supply with low tariffs for goods not locally made.

"Three, the need to stimulate exports through world-scale, value-adding plants and the encouragement of exports of manufactured goods, and, four, the benign consequences of our position in the region.

"These factors also constitute the basic reason for taking economic notice of SA, for foreign investors who are not already here to consider the question of entry and for those who are here to look for repositioning of growth."

Japan's consul in SA, Yoshiaki Murakami, says import tariffs as high as 110 percent on vehicles prohibit their import from Japan, which could substantially reduce the retail price of vehicles in SA. The reduction of import tariffs would not only improve trade between SA and Japan but would promote the transfer of much-needed technology.

The result of SA's protectionist policies, forged in response to international sanctions to keep foreign competition at bay while local industry was given a chance to develop, is high inflation and inefficiency in several key industries such as textiles, footwear and clothing.

In years gone by import substitution was seen as a patriotic endeavour, and the government responded by raising import tariffs more or less on demand.

As sanctions crumble, the need to protect inefficient industry is no longer so persuasive as SA moves closer to an accord with GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade).

Mr. Keys told BUSINESS TIMES the government was committed to increasing competitiveness among SA firms.

Appropriate

He says: "Lower tariffs have an important role to play in this process (of increasing competition). SA has made an appropriate offer of lower tariffs as part of the Uruguay round of GATT's negotiations, and these will be implemented over a period once this round is finalised.

"These reductions and any further reductions will be made over a period and in consultation with the businesses affected by them so as to minimise any adverse effects on employment or market disruption."

An issue frequently raised by foreign investors is the gradual decline in gross domestic fixed investment (GDFI). Why, they ask, should they invest in SA when local investors are scaling down their investment?

Financial institutions place the bulk of their cash flows in the financial markets and property rather than into greenfields developments which would create job opportunities and economic growth.

Mr. Keys says the decline in GDFI is a response to infrastructural overcapacity in the public-sector fields of electricity and transport, while investments undertaken for strategic reasons during SA's period of isolation are coming to an end. He says the private sector is cautious as it re-orientates itself in the direction of reintegration into the world economy.

To attract local and foreign investment, Mr. Keys says, existing incentives such as accelerated tax write-offs for export-oriented minerals beneficiation are sufficient to encourage new investment.

"There are large projects in planning in the private sector which are based on the current level of incentives, and the government will be monitoring the quantum of investment activity closely before deciding on further action."

Mr. Organ says Japan can play a vital role as educator, partner and banker to SA business.

"Japan is interested in the growing African markets. Its decision to drop sanctions should be identified as a sign of confidence, noting the current policies and socio-political situation, but rather in the long-term future of the country. SA, therefore, needs to adopt an extended time-frame of reference when dealing with Japan."

De Beers Climbs in Jewel-Wise

Japan has overtaken the U.S. as the world's largest retail market for diamond jewellery.

Diamond-jewellery sales to Japan have increased by 66 percent since 1982, reflecting the country's rate of economic growth and the rise in disposable income.

The total value of diamond-jewellery sales to Japan in 1990 was US\$11.7-billion, representing 7.6-million jewellery pieces and 2.8-million carats.

Tory Johnston, De Beers's market controller for the Far East, says: "Our preliminary figures for 1991 show that, despite the bursting of the 'bubble economy' and the resulting slowdown in economic growth, sales value will equal that of 1990, and Japan has gained a 2 percent share of the world total value—it now represents 32 percent, followed by the U.S. at 28 percent."

De Beers started marketing jewellery in Japan in 1966, and last year celebrated its 25th anniversary. Several Western jewellery customs and fashions have been introduced by De Beers into Japan, the diamond engagement ring being one example.

Today 74 percent of Japanese brides receive a diamond solitaire ring. Miss Johnston says Japanese consumers are knowledgeable and demanding in terms of quality

and service, and the average price for an item of diamond jewellery is \$1,532 (R4,270), among the highest in the world.

Other Western customs the Japanese have taken a shine to are the tenth and twenty-fifth wedding anniversaries as suitable occasions for diamond-jewellery gifts. An interesting feature of the Japanese market is that a large proportion of jewellery is bought by individuals to wear themselves rather than as gifts for loved ones.

"An excellent example of this is today's young working woman with a high disposable income in a very fashion-conscious environment. They currently account for over one-third of the market's total sales value of diamond jewellery."

The 32nd Diamonds International Awards Ceremony was held in Tokyo in January, the first time it has been held outside Europe. This design competition is sponsored by De Beers and is the equivalent of the Oscars in the jewellery world.

Toyota Still Leads the Pack

Nearly half the motor vehicles sold in SA are Japanese. For many South Africans vehicle brand names such as Toyota, Nissan, Mazda and Mitsubishi represent the quintessential Japanese consumer product—quality at an affordable price.

But leader of the pack in the SA vehicle market, by a long shot, is Toyota, now represented in SA for more than 30 years. Toyota SA is controlled by Wesco on behalf of the directors of the company. It is licensed by Toyota Motor Corporation to manufacture in SA.

Figures released by the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of SA (Naamsa) show that Toyota increased its passenger and commercial vehicle sales to 7,784 in February, representing 31.5 percent of the total SA market.

Improve

Second was Volkswagen with sales of 4,164 or 16.9 percent of the market, followed by Nissan with 3,703, or 15 percent of the market.

Samcor's share of the market (Mitsubishi and Mazda) in February was 8.4 percent, although its share of the vehicle market for 1991 was 10.4 percent.

Toyota looks set to improve its share of the passenger-vehicle market this year. From 24.7 percent in 1991 its penetration of the passenger-vehicle market shot up from 23.3 percent in January to 30.1 percent in February.

The vehicle market is seen as a barometer of economic performance, but total sales in 1991 were 8 percent lower than in 1990, significantly greater than the decline in economic activity.

Toyota reported a decline in vehicle sales of 8.1 percent for the year, from 96,627 units in 1990 to 88,796 units in 1991,

due in part to a work stoppage which occurred throughout the industry during wage negotiations in 1991.

Situation

Toyota has been one of the star performers on the JSE [Johannesburg Stock Exchange] for several years. Last year it was ranked 25th in the BUSINESS TIMES Top 100 survey, with a return to shareholders over five years of 47.6 percent.

Despite the drop in vehicle sales Toyota improved turnover by 11.2 percent to R3.45-billion in the year to December 1991. Earnings per share were 297.3 cents, 7.6 percent higher than the previous year.

Executive chairman Bert Wessels says new vehicle sales will increase by 4.3 percent in 1992, but the increase will only manifest itself in the latter part of the year.

"Much will depend on whether the economic situation will improve during the second half of 1992, as well as whether a relatively stable labour situation can be maintained throughout the year."

Toyota started in SA in 1961 when Dr. Albert Wessels imported 10 Toyota bakkies to the country. By 1966 the first locally assembled Corona rolled off the production line and today it produces and sells more cars than any other manufacturer. Today Toyota (Japan) is second only to General Motors in terms of world vehicle sales.

The first Toyota Corolla in SA was produced in 1975. It became the top selling vehicle in the country, followed by the Toyota Cressida. With these two winners, Toyota increased its share of the SA vehicle market for several years running.

Phase VI of the local-content programme requires 75 percent of the value of each vehicle sold in SA to be locally produced. Car manufacturers were required to invest millions in tooling and equipment, and Toyota, when its investment programme is complete, will have poured about R1.4-billion into tooling for new models and additional facilities required to meet the local-content programme and to assist component suppliers.

Sumitomo—Example of a World Giant

One way for SA companies to gain quick access to the Japanese market is through one of several trading houses operating in SA.

The bulk of trade between Japan and SA is handled by the "Big Six" trading houses: Mitsui, Sumitomo, Mitsubishi, Marubeni, C-Ittoh and Nissho-Iwai.

The Japanese trading house is a concept unique to Japan, where regional offices all over the world source raw materials for various industries while marketing manufactured goods on behalf of Japanese and other countries' manufacturers.

Sumitomo Corporation, started 400 years ago while William Shakespeare was penning Hamlet's final

stanzas, has developed into one of the world's largest industrial, financial and commercial enterprises.

The growth of Sumitomo reflects that of the Japanese economic miracle. Its annual turnover is a gigantic R400-billion, dwarfing the South African economy. It is the second-largest trading house in Japan and a major driving force of the Japanese economy, with annual turnover a little less than 20 percent of Japan's gross national product.

Yet few people in SA have heard of Sumitomo despite its 25-year presence in SA. Throughout the period it has been a major force in facilitating trade between Japan and SA.

The Johannesburg branch, one of 140 such offices around the world, is headed by Shigefumi (Stan) Noda.

Penetrating

He told BUSINESS TIMES: "We are chiefly involved in importing machinery, manufactured steel products and industrial products from Japan. This accounts for 40 percent of our business.

"The balance is made up of exports to Japan: minerals such as iron ore, manganese ore, ferro-chrome for our steel industries, and gold and platinum for the jewellery industry and other raw materials.

"Dealing through a trading house is the most efficient way of penetrating the Japanese market. But there is very little in the way of manufactured products that could be exported to Japan. The Japanese market is already very developed in this regard."

Sumitomo was founded by Masatomo Sumitomo, a samurai warrior who renounced his warrior status and entered the Buddhist priesthood. He opened a shop selling books and medicine in the ancient capital of Kyoto. The business was based on the principles of integrity and sound management rather than profit for its own sake.

Accelerated

The company started to take off in 1590 when a family member discovered a technique for extracting silver from crude copper using lead, an innovation that revolutionised the copper industry and prompted the Sumitomo family to enter mining. It became Japan's leading refiner and exporter of copper. The group's growth accelerated after the discovery of a massive copper deposit in Besshi in 1690.

Japan's modernisation started in 1868 when the Meiji Restoration brought an end to feudalism. Sumitomo branched into a range of new enterprises: electrical and chemical industries, warehousing, financing, and machinery production.

Plat Slump May Be Ending

Japan's consumption of platinum is expected to decline this year as economic growth cools. It is the largest market in the world for platinum jewellery.

SA platinum producers—Rusplats, Implats and Wesplats—have been squeezed by a falling metal price. In yen terms platinum is the cheapest it has been for several years, occasionally trading at a discount to gold.

The good news for SA is that the fall in the metal price is probably coming to an end, although this will depend to a large degree on the rate of economic recovery in Japan over the next two years and the level of disposable incomes for jewellery purchases.

According to Johnson Matthey, Japan consumed 1.12-million ounces of "white metal" for jewellery in 1989, rising to 1.19-million ounces in 1990 and 1.28-million ounces (provisional) in 1991 out of total world consumption of 3.88-million. Jewellery sales in Japan have increased at a compound annual rate of 7 percent since 1981 as younger Japanese have spent more on jewellery.

Correlation

Japan accounts for more than 90 percent of world platinum jewellery demand. If one includes investment and autocatalyst off-take, Japan accounts for more than 50 percent of total world demand.

One platinum analyst interviewed says: "Platinum off-take by Japan could be lower this year, which will be the first such decline since 1983. This would reflect the slowing down of the Japanese economy, particularly in the jewellery trade."

He says there is a strong correlation between the sharp decline of the Nikkei, which began in 1990, and the fall in the platinum price.

"This indicates that as investment confidence waned in Japanese equities, it appeared to spread to that of platinum."

The white metal is regarded as a symbol of pure love in Japan, according to the Japanese trade bulletin, Trade-scope. About 97 percent of all wedding rings sold in Japan are made from platinum.

The Japan branch of the Platinum Guild International (PGI) says there are several reasons why platinum is in strong demand in Japan.

"First and foremost is the traditional Japanese sense of beauty through which value is determined by the degree of refinement, and secondly is the traditional desire for authenticity."

Nat Panasonic Leads Electronics

Alan Coward, National Panasonic's managing director, is delighted that Japan has lifted sanctions against SA.

He says: "We were denied certain products during sanctions, particularly computers and new office equipment technology. Now that sanctions have ended the range of products we can offer will expand."

"We can also get into new market areas such as notebook computers, which our research tells us will take over from the personal-computer market."

National Panasonic, a wholly owned Barlow Rand subsidiary with annual turnover of R500-million, is SA's market leader in consumer electronics. It has distribution agreements with Matsushita Electric Company to manufacture and distribute a range of consumer electronics in SA.

Mr. Coward says the lifting of sanctions has resulted in lower prices for a range of products and greater competition between suppliers.

"There is also a great willingness in Japan to help SA now that trade relations have been normalised."

Nearly 25 percent of the 340,000 TV sets sold in SA each year, which are subject to local-content requirements, are manufactured by National Panasonic. TVs, audio equipment and M-Net decoders are manufactured under licence agreements.

An important market for Panasonic is business machines. About 20 percent of the 30,000 fax machines sold annually in SA are National Panasonic brands. It is the world's leading brand in TVs and videos.

A huge investment in research and development by Matsushita has resulted in a staggering product range.

The business-machine market includes broadcast equipment, closed-circuit TV, intercom systems, copiers, fax machines, typewriters, dot matrix printers, shredders and pagers. Soon to be added are notebook computers, an item specifically proscribed when sanctions were in force.

Stimulate

The consumer division markets and distributes videos, video cameras, hi-fis, TVs, microwaves, audio equipment, cordless phones and a limited number of white goods.

"Matsushita's success was built on marketing through mass outlets on the consumer side and providing excellent service back-up, both to the consumer and dealers. Panasonic technology is second to none, and a customer buying a Panasonic product wants to know that he is getting quality at a good price, with service when it is needed."

Mr. Coward says much of the growth in sales this year will come from business systems and educational products. New products in the business-systems market help to stimulate demand but growth will be curtailed until there are signs of economic recovery.

"The market will grow, but only in five or six years. We take a long-term view of the market, as do the Japanese."

Conducting Business With the Japanese—the Japanese Way

Germany, Britain and the United States have successfully cracked the Japanese market. There is no reason why SA cannot do the same, says Yukio Sato, a Japanese consultant with Omega Research, an SA-based business research company with a strong emphasis on Japan.

Omega publishes a newsletter which is distributed internationally to non-Japanese companies with details of events and opportunities in Japan, explaining how to deal with Japanese companies.

Negligent

In addition, a fortnightly brief is translated into Japanese and sent to Japanese businessmen with an interest in SA. Omega includes among its directors MP [Member of Parliament] Denis Worrall.

This list of the do's and don'ts of dealing with Japanese businessmen was compiled with the help of two Japan experts, Simon Organ, based in Johannesburg, and Yukio Sato, based in London.

—Think long term. The Japanese are in business for the long haul—their time horizons extend decades, even hundreds of years, into the future.

"If you are looking for a quick killing, look elsewhere," says Mr. Sato.

He says SA businesses should learn from the British experience. Japanese business etiquette training courses have boomed only during the past three years, although Japan has maintained a strong presence in the UK for more than 10 years. The Japanese perceive Britain's tardiness in learning Japanese business practice as negligent.

—Develop relationships. You should not expect to deal with Japanese customers on a deal-by-deal basis. Mr. Sato says Japanese business is essentially a network of long-term relationships between companies and suppliers.

—Build trust. The Japanese take time to build a relationship as they are initially guarded with strangers. Once trust is established it must be honoured and maintained—for life.

—Learn how the Japanese manager-and-company system works. There is deep respect for seniors, and juniors defer to their bosses in several ways: allowing them to pass through doors first, bowing deeply as a token of respect—there is no handshaking in Japan although Japanese businessmen are generally accustomed to the Western handshake.

Simon Organ says it is often better to observe Western codes of respect, such as a polite handshake, than to make a mess of Japanese etiquette.

Decisions are made on a committee basis in Japan, and a senior will never make decisions on behalf of a junior.

Geisha

The presentation of gifts is an integral part of business in Japan and the wrapping is just as important. When receiving a gift, admire the wrapping but do not open it in front of the giver.

It is customary to entertain visitors in Japan, and a visit to a geisha house may be arranged for you.

—"Familiarise yourself with Japanese business etiquette," says Mr. Sato. "Nobody would suggest that you become Japanese to do successful business. But knowing and observing a few simple rules, such as the right way to present and exchange business cards, will contribute more than you may imagine to developing a relationship."

The correct way to present and receive a business card is with both hands. Show interest in the card, acknowledge it, study it for a while and do not put it in your pocket.

Mr. Organ says etiquette dictates that you place the card on the table for the duration of the meeting, positioning the cards to reflect the seating arrangements. This enables you to identify each person in the meeting.

Cards should be printed in Japanese on one side and English on the other. The card will generally tell you (in the subtlest way) much about the person you are dealing with.

—Understand Japanese customer culture. The customer is god and gods have the highest expectations, says Mr. Sato. A British automotive component supplier to a Japanese car manufacturer was chagrined when upbraided for weld splatter on the silencer, even though this had no effect on the part's performance.

Quality and reliability—such as delivering when you say you will deliver—are considered paramount in business.

U.S. Aspirations, 'Imperialism' Viewed

MB2704103192 Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER
in Afrikaans 15 Apr 92 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Americans Want To Expand Imperialism"]

[Text] A document which stinks of neo-imperialism has been announced by the U.S. Defense Department. The document reflects U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney's views.

The document claims two rights for the United States. It states that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States is the only superpower left. The country therefore takes upon itself the right to prevent other countries from becoming superpowers.

It wants to do this on the basis that it will look after the other First World countries as long as they do not cherish the aspirations of becoming superpowers. Whether countries like Germany and Japan will take kindly to such a

policy is dubious. None of them want to play second fiddle to the United States, particularly not in the economic sphere.

The other "right" which the Americans claim, is that they may interfere anywhere in the world, even resorting to military force if it would serve their interests.

That has always been U.S. policy, but in the past it has been camouflaged by pretty motives such as "rights and justice" and "democratic rights for smaller groups." Nowadays one hears quite frankly that this interference is solely to satisfy U.S. interests.

On these two "rights" the United States intends to base its "new world order." It is in fact nothing more than a modern and more subtle form of imperialism. It militates blatantly against any nationalistic aspirations.

In South Africa in fact, President De Klerk is playing into the hands of this U.S. neo-imperialism. He just about falls over his own feet to carry out Mr. Bush's wishes. As examples, take De Klerk's exaggerated visits to the United States, the U.S. fort which is being built in Pretoria under cover of an "embassy" without the government even raising questions, and the airbase being built by the Americans in Botswana, almost on the South African border.

While this process is under way, De Klerk sees it necessary to fight Afrikaner nationalism because it has always stood in the way of any form of imperialism. The Afrikaner is a peace-loving nation, and it will not allow its freedom to be taken out from under its feet without putting up a fight. This is something Mr. De Klerk has to think about.

Commentary Views RSA, U.S. Black Societies

MB2404161692 Pretoria PATRIOT in Afrikaans
17 Apr 92 pp 2, 4

[Unattributed commentary in English from the "Review and Comment" column: "Are Some Projects a Lost Cause"]

[Text] The admission last week by erstwhile Hillbrow Residents Association chairman Mrs. Gene Gunther that she had "just about given up" on getting Hillbrow right is a symptom of a world-wide phenomenon: the realization that some things never change, that the poor will always be with us, and that poverty, crime and third-world under-development—even in the world's most advanced societies—cannot be obliterated with affirmative action, increased aid and that panacea of all ills, education.

Ms. Gunther decries the fact that the authorities "don't care" about Hillbrow, that it is a "forgotten area". This benign neglect by none other than the liberal DP [Democratic Party]/NP [National Party] coalition controlling the Johannesburg City Council is a symptom of a fast-growing realisation throughout the world that whatever is done in some instances, nothing ever changes, and the

upliftment which was planned will never materialise. On the contrary, affirmative action recipients become even more recalcitrant, more demanding and more dependent on aid and handouts.

This fact is corroborated by the collapse of Black local government in South Africa [SA] as a result of the government's "orderly urbanization" programme. SA's Black urban areas were to become the bulwark against the revolution after roads, electricity, new housing and schools were provided. When the Group Areas Act was abolished (much heralded by the liberals!), areas like Hillbrow became slums after being invaded by the third world, despite guarantees by the Johannesburg municipality that "standards would be maintained" and that municipal by-laws would be strictly applied.

Liberals keep insisting that divisions in South Africa should be on a class, not a racial basis, and that only education is needed to bring Blacks to parity with Whites. They quote various non-White doctors and others who have "made it", those who have moved into rich White areas and whom they are pleased to have as neighbours.

While nobody wishes to decry these achievements, this is not the point. Each society's goals are set by what is attainable by the vast majority of that society. It's educational system is modelled on what the vast bulk of its students are able to learn and apply at either school or university.

While some South African blacks are able to achieve to these standards, the vast bulk cannot and this is also the case in the United States where even after three hundred years of assimilation (both socially and genetically), after more than thirty years of affirmative action, Black Americans are now being referred to as a lost cause.

Why Black Americans? Why Black South African? SA's Indians were as much the so-called victims of apartheid as Blacks. Yet they achieved as well as any group on earth. America's Asians endured years of discrimination, yet today surpass White America, on average, in learning ability and accomplishments.

The answer is race, or genetics, or ethnicity. Call it what you will. In the American melting-pot, opportunity is there for all and there is no official discrimination on the basis of race. Yet statistics are still kept by race, and these statistics tell a sorry story of the failure of a first-world society, the richest in the world, to educate and assimilate Black Americans under the most fortuitous of circumstances.

In a hard-hitting report entitled "Losing Ground", NEWSWEEK (6.4.92) tells of the infant mortality rate for African Americans being double the average for whites. It says that black children are three times more likely than whites to live in a single-parent household, and that blacks now account for nearly 30 percent of US AIDS cases. (Blacks comprise 52 percent of women with the disease, and Black children represent 53 percent of all pediatric AIDS cases).

Murder is now the leading cause of death for black males between the ages of 15 and 34. Nearly half of all U.S. murder victims are black (yet blacks make up only 12 percent of the U.S. population). (Is violence an endemic genetic quality?)

In 1989, 23 percent of all black men aged 20 to 29 were either in prison, on probation or on parole. One fifth of all black males between 15 and 34 have a prison record.

Since mid 1991, the percentage of black Americans who believe their quality of life has become worse jumped from 35 percent to 51 percent. "Black people are in a worse position today than they were in the fifties", said a black professor at Harvard Medical School, and NEWSWEEK's interviews with hundreds of black scholars, civic activists and elected politicians confirm this statement.

Some black Americans believe their position in America is due to a racist conspiracy to keep them down, but concerned black leaders say this is not so. Blacks who have made it leave the ghettos; hence youngsters left behind have no peers to emulate.

WASHINGTON POST columnist William Rapsberry (a black) says that racism and poverty "are not the reasons we are in the situation we are in today". Another expert says that black America needs "school choice (the right not to be bussed!), strong law enforcement and more drug education and treatment".

But politicians and their electorates are getting tired of the welfare payments and the excuses for crime. In what NEWSWEEK calls "compassion fatigue and dwindling confidence in the government's ability to solve these social problems", it is clear that people now feel that black America must basically solve its own problems. Others say its not the government's responsibility any more. Still others declare that welfare and affirmative action made things worse, not better. The fact that non-Black America is getting tired of the "black problem" means that the solutions proposed by the liberals—welfare payments, better education, affirmative action in jobs—did not work.

It's not going to work in South Africa either, but our obtuse government is not prepared to learn from the mistakes of others. More and more money will be poured down the ratholes of the government's redistribution of wealth programmes and nothing will change. If anything, things will get worse.

29 Apr Press Review on Current Events, Issues
MB2904123292

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

De Klerk's Offer 'Serious' Powersharing Attempt—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 27 April in a page 12 editorial says President De Klerk's proposal for

"an executive council elected on the basis of one person, one vote has every appearance of being a serious attempt at power-sharing." "Mr De Klerk appears to have offered the ANC [African National Congress] even more than it had asked for: not just executive powers to run certain areas of government but executive powers to run the country. And to have a chance of being president too. In that sense, it is a doubly smart move. Not only does it make it difficult to argue that the Nats are dragging their feet on transitional government; it is in line with Government thinking that if an extra-parliamentary organisation wants power in the transition, it also has to take responsibility. A real problem with a committee running a country is that it will have to reach decisions by consensus. The other side of the coin is that this will, in effect, give the ANC a veto. That is the trade-off. Another problem is that a rotating presidency was proposed at the NP's [National Party] federal congresses last year and rejected by opponents. Why would it be acceptable now?" THE STAR believes the offer is "sufficiently new and ingenious" and offers a way out of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, impasse. The offer should "be taken seriously as an opportunity to reopen the transitional debate, even if it is not embraced as a solution."

Conservative Party 'Floundering'—A page 22 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English for 29 April notes the "gradual hemorrhaging" in the Conservative Party, making the future of the right wing "highly unpredictable." Referring to the dismissal from the party of Overvaal MP, Koos van der Merwe, THE STAR says: "Some insiders believe that Van der Merwe miscalculated; that he expected in time, to be able to mount a palace coup and to inherit the CP intact. Instead, his enemy, Ferdi Hartzenberg, drew first. This of course, provides only temporary pleasure and satisfaction for the dwindling rump of CP diehards. The referendum was the writing on the wall. They have no plausible policy and they will continue to be left floundering in the wake of events beyond their control."

ANC Must Explain Members Wearing Police Jackets—A second editorial on the same page says the ANC has acted with "commendable swiftness to call its Bophuthatswana representative, George Mathusa, to order for threatening large-scale necklacing to bring down the Mmabatho government. However, an even more serious issue for the ANC to deal with has emerged with police revelations that two of its members had been arrested wearing police jackets. If that is in fact the case—and the matter still has to be tested in court—then the ANC has as much explaining to do over township violence as the security forces."

SOWETAN

Unbelief That Security Forces Unable To Catch Train Killers—"The authorities do no seem to care about the violence on Reef trains," begins a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 29 April. "This is the only conclusion that can be drawn from their tardy

response to a sit-in by prominent political and community leaders at the Johannesburg offices of Spoornet [Railnet] to highlight train violence. It is clear the authorities do not have a genuine sympathy or an understanding of the daily terror commuters are subjected to." "It boggles the mind that our highly trained security forces, known to be the best in Africa, have failed to come up with an effective counter to the train killers."

BEELD

Defection of DP MPs Raises Questions—Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 23 April says in a page 12 editorial: "The five rebel Democratic Party Members of Parliament who joined the ANC have raised a number of questions by their move. While DP and ANC supporters have over the years worked for the common goal of a just political dispensation free from racial discrimination, there is nevertheless a clear difference between them. On the one hand the DP can be viewed as a kind of torch-bearer for Western liberal-democratic values, while the ANC is a product of discredited communism with its history of political intolerance, denial of human rights, and disastrous economic experiments." "How do the five reconcile this? Do they believe they can rehabilitate the ANC? If they can infuse a bit of political and economic sense into their new comrades, then they could justify their defection. But that still leaves many questions unanswered."

NP Proposals on Transitional Authority—Government approached the issue concerning a transitional government "imaginatively" with a new proposal on executive authority, states a page 8 editorial in Afrikaans in Johannesburg BEELD on 24 April. "A basic problem is the question of bringing about greater responsibility and sharing duties so that there will be greater credibility in the transitional process. As long as the present government, with its limited representative base, continues to make difficult and unpopular decisions thereby allowing other political organizations to criticize it, it will result in continued tension during a delicate process of negotiation." "The fact that in NP proposals, the presidency will be known as an Executive Council, can be regarded as a mere name change. Of greater importance is the idea that it will be a directly elected executive authority

serving in a transitional phase." "Three-fifths of the strongest parties will sit on the executive council. The sooner South Africa knows who the leaders are who represent the masses, the sooner we can have a legitimate government in power." These proposals clearly indicate that the NP "does not want to cling to power but that it really wants to share power to bring about a more effective government."

Concern Expressed At CP 'Intellectual Cul-De-Sac'—"Grave concern has been expressed in Afrikaner circles, even before the referendum, that the Conservative Party [CP] has landed in an intellectual cul-de-sac and that the possibility of right wing violence flowing from frustration as a result of this, has become even greater," notes a second editorial on the same page. "The referendum has heightened this concern. What the CP leadership will not do, some of its members and former members have begun doing, as well as certain other right wing organizations; they have, to use the state president's words, begun to have fresh and new thoughts." "President De Klerk's invitation yesterday in parliament, for the Afrikaners to hold a Groote Schuur summit, is an upright attempt to accommodate all South Africans." "If the CP participates then it could be Dr. Andries Treurnicht's best contribution to his nation."

'Partiality,' 'Bias' Spoils SACC Summit on Violence—Another editorial on the same page says that the unrest and violence in the country "is such a serious issue that every attempt to find a solution should be welcomed. However, there are reservations about the emergency summit on violence recently organized by the South African Council of Churches [SACC]. The objectivity of the SACC should be questioned because all too often they have given the impression that they are using the pulpit for pro-ANC politics." "Another problem is that only black organizations were invited to this summit. If by this they implied that the biggest cause of the violence lies with them, then this is understandable." "Eventually they admitted that they should get a small part of the blame. This was, however, overshadowed by their usual screaming against apartheid. The biggest scapegoat on whom most of the blame was placed, is the government." "Once again bias and partiality have spoiled an attempt that could have been praiseworthy."

Mozambique

79 Frelimo Troops Killed in Sofala Offensive

MB2804164792 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo
in Portuguese 1600 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] A source with the Department of Defense in the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] has advised that Renamo forces have thwarted an offensive launched from Dondo against Inhaminga in Sofala Province's Cheringoma District. The source said that Renamo forces had let three Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] brigades enter the towns of Savane, Muanza, Semacueza, Inhaminga, and Inhamitanga on the Dondo-Sena railroad. Afterward, Chief of Staff General Faustino Adriano sent two commando battalions to those towns, which annihilated the three Frelimo brigades.

A total of 79 Frelimo soldiers were killed and 253 injured. Our forces captured 17 Frelimo soldiers. Renamo forces also captured 378,000 rounds of ammunition for AK-47 rifles weighing nine tons. Our forces also captured seven anti-aircraft weapons, 14.5-mm machine guns, 391 mortar shells, 38 RPG-7 shells, assorted hand grenades, and hundreds of antipersonnel land mines.

The vehicles carrying those weapons managed to withdraw to Beira before our forces entered the towns which Frelimo forces had abandoned in disarray.

Meanwhile, our forces are involved in hot pursuit operations toward the town of Dondo. At present, Renamo forces are deployed in the Savane region.

Renamo Criticizes Chissano's Beira Speech

MB2904100592 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo
in Portuguese 0500 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Excerpts] The Voz da Renamo reporters approached Mr. Albino Ferrao, spokesman for the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] President's Office, on 27 April to learn his opinion about the speech delivered by Joaquim Chissano, president of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo], in Beira recently.

Mr. Albino Ferrao said the following: Frelimo President Joaquim Chissano's Beira speech was (?both empty) and infantile. He said almost nothing. He only tried to promote himself and his party. Chissano tried to laud Frelimo's work during the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. He said that Frelimo had done good work instead of noting that the Mozambican people had done good work, too, by fighting Portuguese colonialism inside Mozambique. Chissano apparently forgot that Frelimo would not even exist if the Mozambican people had not sent their sons to fight Portuguese colonialism. The way Chissano explained Frelimo's work during the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, it might seem that Frelimo was something that had come to us directly from Heaven and that no sons of the Mozambican

people had participated in the armed struggle against colonialism. [passage omitted]

Mr. Chissano does not even know how to identify those who have betrayed the Mozambican people. All those who have died for demanding freedom, democracy, human rights, and justice have not been traitors. The real traitors are the ones who killed them. The traitor is the one who betrays. In this case, the traitor is Chissano's Marxist Frelimo Party because it brushed the people aside, prevented democracy, and murdered all political opponents. Mr. Albino Ferrao, spokesman for the Renamo President's Office, was astonished that Chissano should have said during his speech that Afonso Dhlakama did not know what he was fighting for. Mr. Ferrao said that made no sense whatever because Renamo has always told the Mozambican people, and even Frelimo, that it fought for justice, human rights, democracy, and a market economy. Frelimo, whether headed by Samora Machel or by Chissano, rejected all those proposals. Both said that a multiparty system was not possible in Africa, that only Marxism and the one-party system works in Africa. To confirm its belief, Frelimo began calling on the armies of all neighboring countries to come, fight, and completely destroy Renamo, thereby undoubtedly denying Mozambique the right to democracy.

In October 1989, Chissano took a group of ambassadors on a tour of the provinces. He was holding rallies to try and convince the Mozambican people to reject the multiparty system [words indistinct] Renamo in Mozambique. [passage omitted]

The spokesman for the Renamo President's Office noted he did not understand what Chissano is trying to convey in his speeches now because if things are properly analyzed, Frelimo has ended up accepting everything Dhlakama wanted: There are parties in Mozambique; the People's Republic of Mozambique has become the Republic of Mozambique; and the People's Assembly has become the Assembly of the Republic. This confirms that Chissano and his party have been (?pressured) by Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama into introducing those changes. Mr. Albino Ferrao further said that everything President Chissano claims he has implemented in Mozambique is exactly what President Dhlakama has been demanding. In view of that, it is difficult to understand how Chissano can say that President Dhlakama does not know what he is fighting for.

Renamo did not originate democracy, but it is Renamo that is teaching democracy in Mozambique. Everything Frelimo has tried to correct in its documents, notably by saying that it no longer pursues a Marxist line, and other small changes, meets exactly what Renamo has been demanding from the very first hour of the struggle. Thus, the Renamo Party is very powerful. It is teaching democracy in Mozambique, and Frelimo is gaining much in the process because it is imitating Renamo's program.

Nonetheless, that will not be enough for Frelimo. Frelimo is not known for what it is doing now. Frelimo is known for the damage and the deaths it has caused in our country.

To conclude, Mr. Albino Ferrao said that Renamo President Dhlakama is very happy because he has seen that Chissano neither knows, nor will know, what the Mozambican people want. He only continues to deliver his speeches in a Marxist tone, trying to defend a regime (?that is dead to the) world.

* 'Operation Production' Negative Effects Persist

92AF0650A Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese
15 Mar 92 pp 18-21

[Article by Fernando Goncalves of the Mozambique Information Agency: "'Operation Production'—The Fallout Eight Years Later"]

[Excerpts] Francisco Simone Baloi is now 39 years old. He was born in Macia, in the southeastern part of the Gaza Province, in southern Mozambique. In 1983, when he was working as a domestic employee in Maputo somewhere on July 24 Avenue—he no longer remembers exactly where—he left unexpectedly for exile in Niassa.

To reconstruct his odyssey after almost 10 years have gone by is not an easy task. But he recalls that in the middle of a July morning of that year, "they came knocking at the door of my boss's house. When I opened the door, I saw that outside there were a whole lot of MP's (Military Police) and other armed men. They said to me: 'Let us go with the Party.' We went there, and up until today we are still there."

This is the disclosure of one man, but one whose trail of misfortune is similar to that of several others: women, old people, children, young people, men, thousands of people, some of whom were innocent victims of 1983's "Operation Production."

These were people declared "unproductive" just because they fell into one of those police raids that were taking place around Maputo and were not able to produce a civil identification card, residency card, work permit (or student identification card in its place.) Some people were interrogated at home, sometimes very late at night, and, if they were not residents of Maputo, had to present a "journey guide" that authorized a temporary stay in this city. [passage omitted]

From the government's point of view, "Operation Production" had the goal of freeing the cities—notably Maputo and Beira—of the unemployed and street people. The problem was that, in the process, even children who had not gotten a place in the schools due to the country's limited school system were caught in the avalanche and "packed" on the incessant flights that for several days paralyzed all the domestic and regional operations of the national airline, LAM [Mozambique Airlines], and were sent to the three

provinces in the north—namely Cabo Delgado, Nampula, and Niassa—the "promised lands" of the "rejects" of society. [passage omitted]

The mistreatment to which these "unproductives" were subjected, far from freeing the cities from evil-doers, as good intentions would have had it, only contributed to the spread of the war to areas where, under normal conditions, the memories of the national struggle for liberation by Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front]—where the latter came to hold liberated areas—would have resisted the implanting of terrorism by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance].

"Operation Production" created a feeling of revolt in those evacuated from the cities, and it was not by mere coincidence that the three provinces of the north, which up until 1983 had not known the atrocities of Renamo that were already making themselves felt in the southern and central regions, came to be the targets of the most brutal attacks. [passage omitted]

Ironically, there is currently no one who will speak out about the fallout from "Operation Production." The Ministry of the Interior, whose chief officer at the time presided over the ad hoc commission that was set up to supervise the operation, has no file on the matter.

Even today, it is not known what "Operation Production" did to state finances. The failure of "Operation Production" is a public secret, although the government has never made any public statement about the matter.

The chief of staff of the Ministry of the Interior said in a telephone conversation with AIM [Mozambique Information Agency] that the ministry's administration had changed several times since then and that the current leaders did not have any information concerning the matter.

LAM also does not know the exact number of passengers that it transported during the operation, which may mean that people were simply put on airplanes without any passenger lists.

This just shows the lack of seriousness with which the responsible authorities dealt with the destiny of thousands of citizens. [passage omitted]

Niassa had all the necessary conditions to respond positively to a well-thought out and carefully structured population and infrastructure-development program. But "Operation Production" was a compulsive and violent movement. [passage omitted]

There were also questions of an ethnic-cultural order that the ideological rhetoric did not make it possible to take into account. The majority of the people evacuated did not speak the local languages—Macua, Ajaua, and Nyanja—which made communication impossible from the very beginning.

According to Baloi, the negative prejudices on both sides began to manifest themselves very early in the process,

with the Changanes" from the south seen as intruders, arrogant and disrespectful of other people's property, and criminals.

In the region where Baloi was located, which is predominantly Macua, the Changanes saw the inhabitants as "great witch doctors" who, if they wanted to take someone's life, did it with the greatest naturalness.

That is the reason that in the village of Baloi, the death of a Changanes woman and child in a short space of time, and, as the Changanes believed, "without ever having gotten sick," was the cause of skirmishes between the two groups, with the Changanes believing that the deaths were the result of the "Macuas' spells." The Macuas were upset over the fact that the new residents had been imposed on them, but the others were not there of their own free will either.

"We went to one of our medicine men and he told us that the deaths were due to the Macuas' spell. Then we began beating up the Macuas until the administrator came and we made the collective decision to cut off all contact with the Macuas. If one of us was seen having good relations with them, that person was punished," said Baloi.

There are also indications that some of the attacks against villages in Niassa were carried out as a form of vengeance against the natives. Baloi recounts that one day he was kidnapped following an attack against his village. "They were preaching politics to me along the way in Changane, trying to get me to line up with the armed bands (Renamo) to fight against the government, because they sent us here. But then I managed to escape along the highway and return to the village after three months in the bush."

The disaster of "Operation Production" could not have been unforeseeable if one considers that, in a general way, the individual interests of certain officials of the then-powerful "motivational groups" took precedence over the government's good intentions with the goal of settling old quarrels, taking advantage of their authority and the vacuum that existed with regard to the verification of the truthfulness of the facts.

If there is a lesson to be learned from "Operation Production," it is that the balanced development that we are trying to achieve in the country, reducing the underdevelopment of the north in comparison with the south, should be a gradual program and should be supported by a series of incentives that may range from tax exemptions in the first years of investment to the granting of isolation subsidies to employees who have to work in regions where the conditions are difficult to endure.

Swaziland

King Condemns 'Divisive Political Elements'

MB2504154192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1529 GMT 25 Apr 92

[Text] Mbabane April 25 SAPA—Swaziland's King Mswati III on Saturday [25 April] condemned divisive political elements in the country which he said were bent on destroying the unity of the Swazi people.

He was delivering an hour-long speech at his 24th birthday celebrations, held in the capital Mbabane.

King Mswati said the people of Swaziland and their monarchs through the ages had faced various problems and found lasting solutions because they faced them together as a family.

He called on the country's pupils not to listen to those elements who tried to disrupt their education by preaching doom about the system of government, and who made false promises.

Such people had completed their own education but now wanted to destroy the chances of the children completing their education, King Mswati said.

Referring to the alarming rate of crime in Swaziland, he said crime could destroy a country's reputation, chase away investors, damage the economy and undo what the government had done to reduce the high unemployment rate.

As for the drought, the government with international assistance was doing all it could to meet the serious threat of famine.

King Mswati called on the government to draw-up a policy for people to help themselves by being prepared for disasters such as droughts.

Such a policy would include the building of dams for agriculture and drinking water in all parts of the country.

He thanked the residents of Mbabane for his birthday celebrations, and said he would instruct the government to prepare for the capital to be declared a city.

The British high commissioner, Mr Brian Watkins, conferred the insignia of the Venerable Order of St John of Jerusalem on King Mswati on behalf of Queen Elizabeth, who heads the British Commonwealth.

Mali**Alpha Konare Wins Presidential Election**

*AB2804213092 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television
du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 28 Apr 92*

[Text] According to the complete but provisional results of the second round of voting released today by the Ministry of Territorial Administration, Mr. Alpha Oumar Konare has won the presidential elections with 693,167 votes, that is 69.01 percent of the votes cast, against the 311,289 votes, or 30.99 percent, which went to his rival Tieoule Mamadou Konate. It should be noted that the turnout rate was 20.87 percent.

Konare Comments

*LD2904093692 Paris Radio France International
in French 0530 GMT 29 Apr 92*

[Text] In Mali the official results of the presidential election are now known. Alpha Oumar Konare, the Alliance for Democracy in Mali [ADEMA] candidate, has won with exactly 69.01 percent of the votes against the 30.99 percent gained by his rival Tieoule Mamadou Konate. The turnout was lower than in the first round, with only 20.87 percent of those registered voting.

Alpha Oumar Konare should be sworn in 15 days after the announcement of the official results. However, the newly elected leader has made an appeal to the parties that have not supported him up to now to participate with him in managing the country.

Here is Alpha Oumar Konare, recorded by Thierry Perret:

[Begin Konare recording] There are political forces that did not vote for us in the second round, who left it to each of the militants in their party to make a choice. These political forces fought hard for a new political situation. It would be desirable if we create the conditions necessary for real change with them. These are forces that must be included in the future, and we are taking them into consideration. [end recording]

Sierra Leone**Fighting Reported Near President's Office**

*AB2904105592 Paris AFP in English 1042 GMT
29 Apr 92*

[Text] Freetown, April 29 (AFP)—Fighting broke out early Wednesday [29 April] near the Sierra Leone president's office between renegade soldiers and loyalist troops, witnesses said.

The witnesses reported exchanges of heavy gunfire between front line soldiers who have been battling rebels along the Liberian border and Army regulars stationed in the capital.

Witnesses said two truck loads of the front-line troops entered the capital late Tuesday and surrounded the president's official residence, reportedly angry over the government's failure to pay back salary and poor medical care for combatants. It was not immediately possible to confirm their complaints.

The troops have been engaged for more than a year in fighting along the border with Liberia against forces of the rebel Liberian National Patriotic Front (NPFL), which is backed by opponents to Sierra Leone President Joseph Momoh.

Banks and business houses were closed and the markets deserted in Freetown early Wednesday, with few people in the street.

Rebel Attack 'Crushed'

*AB2904120892 Paris AFP in French 1142 GMT
29 Apr 92*

[Text] Freetown, 29 Apr (AFP)—The attack carried out by some soldiers near the Presidency of the Republic in Freetown early this morning has been "crushed," an Army spokesman stated. According to some witnesses, troops loyal to the government were patrolling the capital's streets a few hours after the beginning of the coup de force launched by a group of soldiers who had taken position near the Presidency to protest mainly the non-payment of their salary arrears. The Army spokesman stated that the rebel soldiers had used mortars and rocket launchers. Heavy shooting had broken out near the Presidency, according to witnesses.

President Joseph Momoh was in his residence during the shooting.

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